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$2.50

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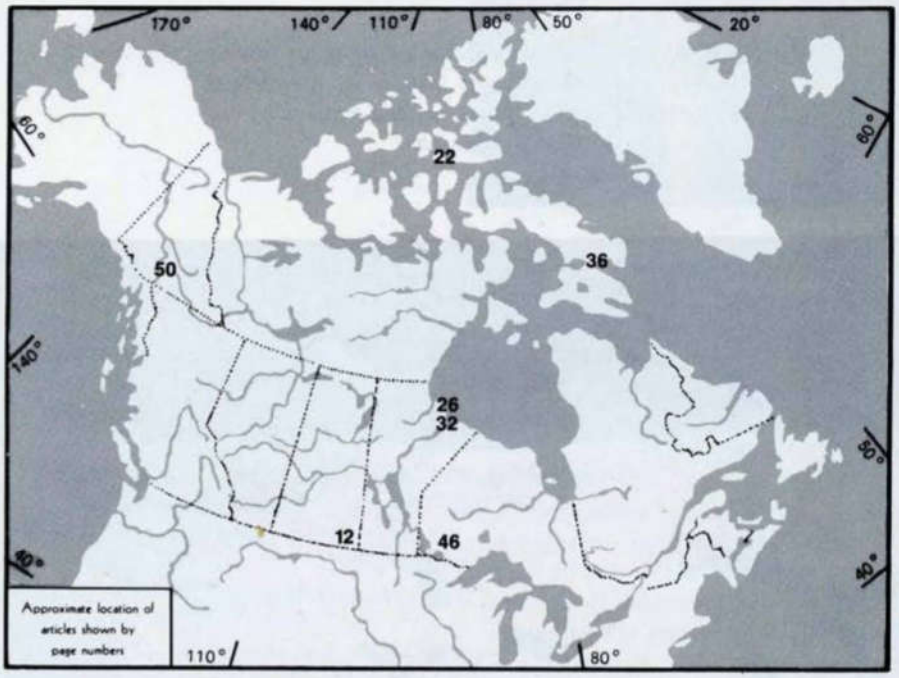
MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

Editor: Helen Burgess



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COVER: 'Suppertime — Goose Hunters' Camp, Marsh Point', by H. Albert Hochbaum. Egg tempera on gesso panel, 22" x 30". Dr Hochbaum comments that Marsh Point (the tip of land between the Nelson and Hayes Rivers, near York Factory), 'has been a favored place for hunting since time beyond record. ...Two families of Cree camped on Marsh Point in September 1965, down from Shamattawa for the south-bound flight of geese. Nothing was wasted — gizzards eaten in camp, feathers bagged, the birds smoked and dried for the winter. Four dogs helped with the hunt, but served mainly as power on the return upstream. Hitched to long lines, two to a boat, they pulled the outfit home.' Reproduced by permission of the artist. Photograph courtesy of the Agassiz Galleries, Winnipeg.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE
77 MAIN ST.

Hudson's Bay Company

WINNIPEG, CANADA
R3C 2R1

Published by The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, known as the Hudson's Bay Company. The interests of THE BEAVER cover the territory with which the Company has been or is now associated. Annual subscription $10 (Canada and United States). Single Copy $2.50. Other countries annual subscription $12. While every care will be taken of manuscripts and illustrations submitted, no liability will be assumed for loss. Contents copyright. Printed in Canada.

Second class mail registration number 1401. Postage paid at Winnipeg.

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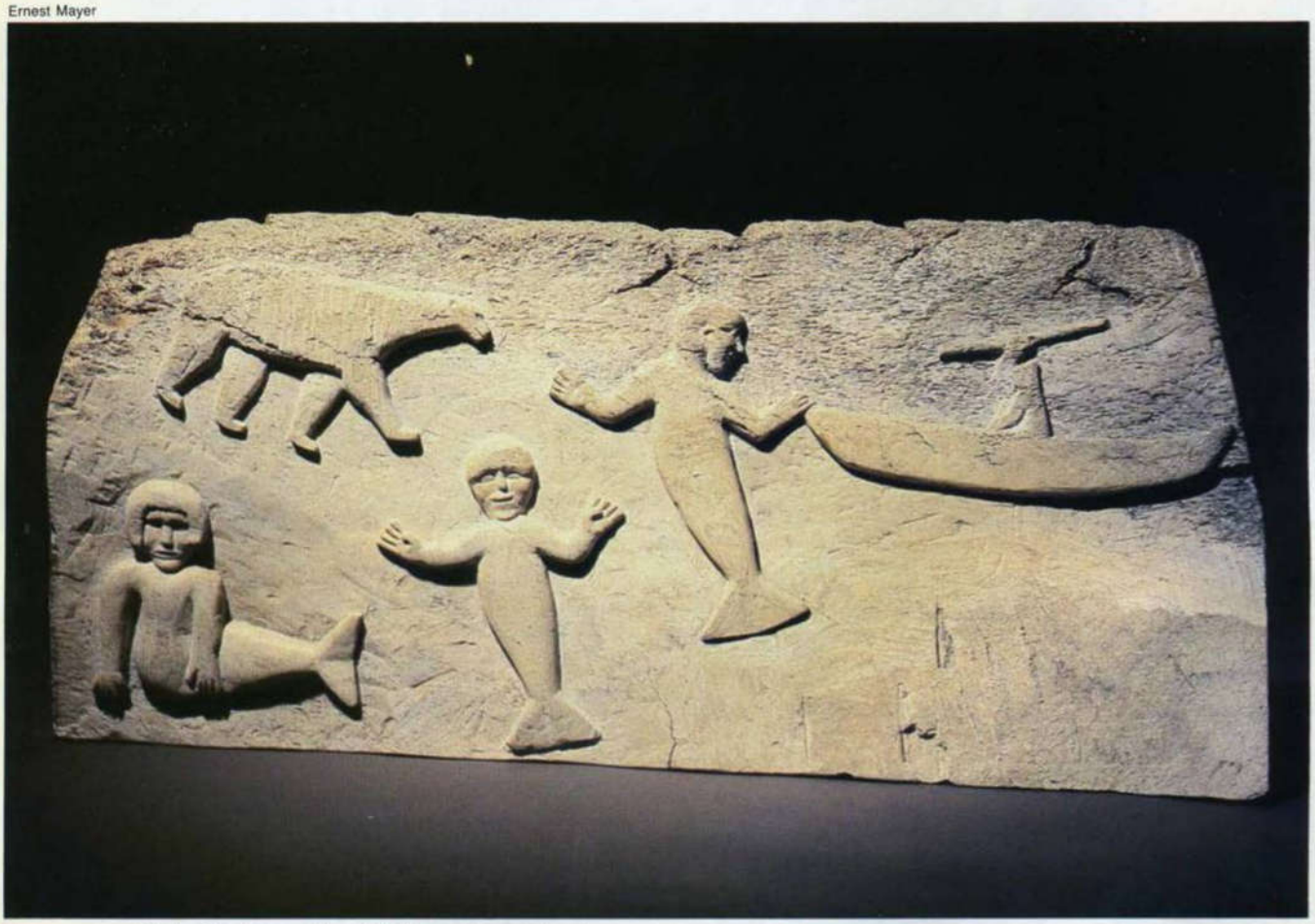
ISSN 0005-7517

WHALE BONE

by Jean Blodgett

Jean Blodgett, former curator of Inuit art at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, is author of numerous authoritative papers on Inuit art and the prestigious book 'Kenojuak'.

Ernest Mayer



'Sedna Story' carved in whale bone at Pangnirtung by an unknown artist, 1972. From the Winnipeg Art Gallery Collection; donated by Ian Lindsay. Reproduced by permission of the Pangnirtung Inuit Cooperative.

Model of a Thule culture house. Courtesy of the National Museum of Man, Ottawa.

'She held on to the gunwale; then the father took his hatchet and chopped off the first joints of her fingers. When they fell into the water, they were transformed into whales, the nails becoming the whalebone.'

'The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay' by Franz Boas

Among the many episodes in Eskimo* myths about the powerful sea goddess Taleelayo or Sedna is one where the goddess-to-be is thrown overboard from her father's boat as he tries to save himself from a raging storm caused by her deserted and angry bird husband. The young woman tries to cling to the edge of the boat only to have her fingers chopped off, joint by joint, by her frightened father. The fingers, falling into the water, become sea animals; the specific type of animal varies from story to story. In the version quoted above — from Cumberland Sound, an area historically rich in whales — the origin of whalebone or baleen whales is explained.

In legends, Taleelayo, no longer able to keep afloat, sinks into the water to reside beneath the sea from whence, as the sea goddess, she controls the animals so essential to the hunters and their families. Again in the Boas version, her submarine home is described as being 'built of stone and whale-ribs'. This description corresponds to the type of housing structure utilized by the prehistoric Thule culture Eskimos in Canada.

Unlike their predecessors of the Dorset culture who seem to have hunted only smaller game, the Canadian Thule Eskimos (c. 1000-1600) actively pursued the large bowhead whale. Armed only with their harpoons and riding in skin-covered frame boats, the Thule people undertook to hunt this great animal of the sea which is now (when still to be found) pursued in a more scientific and less dangerous fashion with such things as power boats and harpoons with exploding heads. But the Thule Eskimos obviously had the equipment, expertise and courage to successfully take the bowhead whale, as the archaeological sites now so abundantly attest. Eskimos of the Dorset culture may have scavenged whales washed up onto the shore, but whale bone is not common as refuse at Dorset camp sites or as a medium for equipment and carvings, whereas the Thule Eskimos used the whale and its products extensively. Whale meat and oil were used for food and fuel, baleen was made into cups and containers, and strands of it were used for cordage and lashing. The whale bone was fashioned into toys and such tools and implements as knives, snow beaters, handles, harpoon heads, adze heads, picks and mattocks. From it the Eskimo also made shoeing for the runners of his sled.

Whole whale bones were used in the construction of burial cairns, meat caches and houses. The houses were made of sod, stones and whale bone, the latter acting as supports and rafters. According to Allen McCartney in his article in *Arctic* on 'The Nature of Thule Eskimo Whale Use', the typical Thule house, made with from 14 to 20 mandible rafters, would require the bones from seven to ten whales. Sufficient bones for all houses in a camp (up to 20 and more houses in the larger sites) would not have been taken in one season, but were acquired over the years. The Eskimos hunted whales only for the short time during the summer when the animals were feeding in open arctic waters; under their hunting conditions and with their type of equipment, it is most unlikely that they could have killed sufficient numbers to affect the overall whale population.

Whale bone was not a popular artistic medium with the Thule people; sculptures were primarily made of ivory. There are, however, several examples of implements decorated with incised scenes which show whale hunting in progress. These scenes depict men in umiaks (large frame boats covered with skin) in pursuit or actually having harpooned a whale. Perhaps best known of these is the ivory bow-drill handle found near present-day Arctic Bay and now in the National Museum of Man, which is richly decorated with scenes of Thule Eskimo activity, including whale hunting involving several whales, umiaks and apparently an outrider in a kayak.

Incised decoration such as this was not unusual on functional equipment in Thule times, but Robert McGhee of the Archaeological Survey found an unusual specimen at the Brooman Point site on Bathurst Island in 1980:

**Following current usage, the term Inuit applies to present-day Canadian Eskimos; the term Eskimo is used for anthropological and archaeological references.*

Incised whale-bone rafter from Thule house, c.1100 A.D. Brooman Point site, Bathurst Island. Length 122 cm.

David Barbour

a whale-hunting scene incised onto a whale-bone rafter in one of the Thule houses. Presumably added to the bone once the house had been built, the scene, now vague and unclear, shows whale-hunting activity similar to that on the decorated implements. On the right, seven figures are shown in a umiak slightly above and behind the tail flukes of a large whale. Although not clear, it looks as if the whale has been harpooned in his centre back and the line from the harpoon head crosses the body, goes below the prow of the boat, bends and disappears into the bottom area of the scene — perhaps attached to a float that is no longer visible. Immediately above and to the left of this whale is another, more indistinct umiak with perhaps ten heads showing; to the lower left of this boat is a smaller whale, its tail flukes quite clear, but the body just rudimentarily defined with a line, and with some suggestion of a head. The shape of the head of the larger and more clearly shown whale is distinctively that of a bowhead. Also of interest in this scene is the use of hatching over the surface of the larger umiak, clearly distinguishing it from the surrounding area. Artistic devices such as this clearly set this scene apart from mere doodling.

After about 1600, changing climatic conditions affected the Thule way of life. Most significantly, with colder weather and increased pack ice, the whales could no longer reach many of their regular summer feeding grounds. Over the subsequent years the Eskimos adapted their hunting patterns to the resources available in their particular locale, moving frequently if necessary to pursue the game. Whales, where available, were increasingly hunted by outsiders — Europeans, British and New Englanders — often with Eskimo assistance. During the historical period, the Eskimos continued to make extensive use of whale bone and baleen, whether taken by themselves or outsiders, or simply recycled from older sites. In addition to the functions already outlined there is evidence that baleen was woven into mats for the sleeping platform and used for traps, fishlines and nets. Whale bone continued in use as shoeing for sled runners until sufficient metal was available — up to quite recently in some areas.

During this time, even with their burgeoning tourist market, the Eskimos did not make much use of whale bone as a carving medium. Ivory remained the favoured material until the late 1940s when, encouraged to use stone, the Inuit recognized its potential especially with respect to size and versatility. These are the very characteristics, along with availability, that first stimulated carving of whale bone. Throughout the contemporary period (1948 to the present) stone has been the most popular material for carving, but poor quality or limited supples in some areas have necessitated importation or the use of other media such as antler and whale bone. For example, the community of Spence Bay began flying in bone from the plentifully stocked Thule sites north of them to make up for the scarcity of stone in their own area. Until that time in the 1960s, whale bone had not been gathered or used for carvings on such a grand scale. However, a number of factors seem to have encouraged whale-bone carving in the late 1960s and early 1970s: the lack of sufficient stone in some areas to meet the increasing market in the South; several magazine articles with very positive commentary on the use of whale bone as an available, indigenous and appropriate medium for Inuit sculpture; and the tremendous success of whale-bone carvings in the market-place. Seen as something distinctively Inuit, carvings of whale bone appealed to the collectors. This novel material, with its interesting natural shape, colour and texture, as well as the quality of carvings done by such people as Karoo Ashevak of Spence Bay, all helped to stimulate people's interest. Spurred on by the response in the South, carvers in communities like Spence Bay, Pangnirtung, Clyde River, Igloolik and Arctic Bay, with access to whale-bone depots, turned their hand to this exciting, newly rediscovered material. Even in communities with limited supplies sculptors were using some bone, and by 1975 more than a dozen communities were producing carvings made of whale bone.

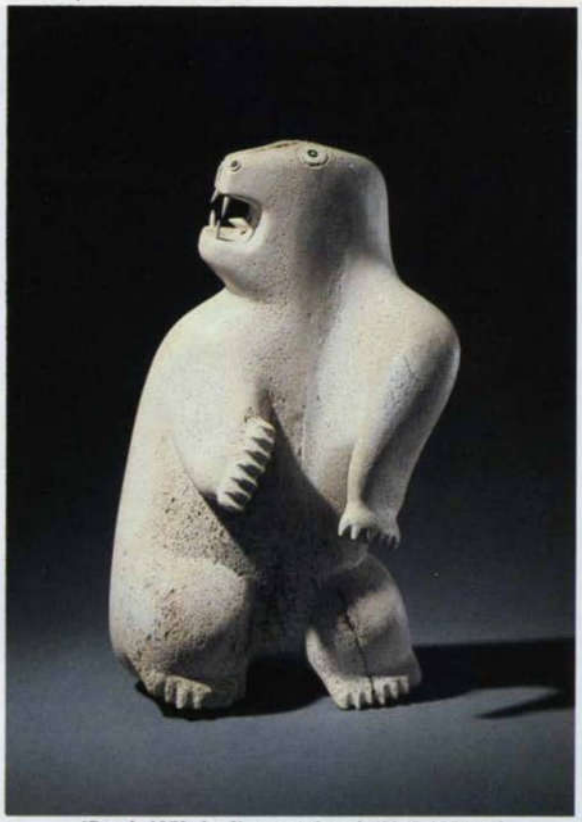
Unfortunately far too often the gathering of this whale bone involved the disruption of Thule sites, since these camps provided not only large quantities of bone, but bone that was sufficiently aged for carving. Removal of these bones — by pulling and digging out or even sawing them off at the ground line — disturbed the prehistoric record and destroyed the layers of stratification so important to the archaeologists. As early as 1972 the

Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Man, instigated rescue projects to try to resolve the situation and in 1975 the National Museum and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs jointly sponsored the Thule Archaeology Conservation Project to assess, among other things, the damage already done to sites. (For the report of this project see *Archeological Whale Bone: A Northern Resource,* edited by Allen P. McCartney.) One partial solution tested in these operations was to turn over the no longer significant whale bone to local Inuit carvers once the archaeologist had completed his dig. This procedure obviously had its drawbacks for both parties, and the whale bone situation continued to raise questions in the North and the South of Canada about rights and priorities of the Inuit, the archaeologists, and everyone else involved.

In 1975 another factor was added to this situation from an unexpected quarter: the United States. During the 1970s Congress passed several acts which protect endangered species, including the Endangered Species Act of 1973. Enforcement agencies at first permitted importation of whale-bone sculpture as long as it was accompanied by a document from an archaeologist or other accepted authority verifying the age of the bone (since using bone from whales killed in prehistoric times would not endanger present populations), but in 1975 several shipments sent from Canadian Arctic Producers in Ottawa, one of the major marketing agencies for Inuit artists, to dealers in the United States were seized at the border. At that point Canadian Arctic Producers stopped all shipments of whale-bone sculpture to their dealers in the States as did the other Canadian suppliers, and tourists were advised against trying to take whale-bone carvings back home.

In the United States the Endangered Species Act is tied in with and used to implement (in the U.S.) an international agreement on endangered species, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES). Under this international agreement, which regulates trade in threatened plant and animal species in order to protect them from excessive commercial exploitation, participating nations require import and export permits for over 1,000 species, including baleen whales and their products (baleen as well as the bone). Permits have been and continue to be granted for the movement of Inuit whale-bone sculpture by the country of export — Canada — and all importing nations except the United States. In the United States, CITES permits are provided only for certain activities such as scientific or non-commercial exhibition purposes. At the present time, then, whale-bone sculpture may be imported into countries other than the United States as long as the appropriate CITES permits are obtained. (Check with the Canadian Wildlife Service; this system must also be used to export whale-bone sculpture from other countries back into Canada.) Import permits into

Ernest Mayer

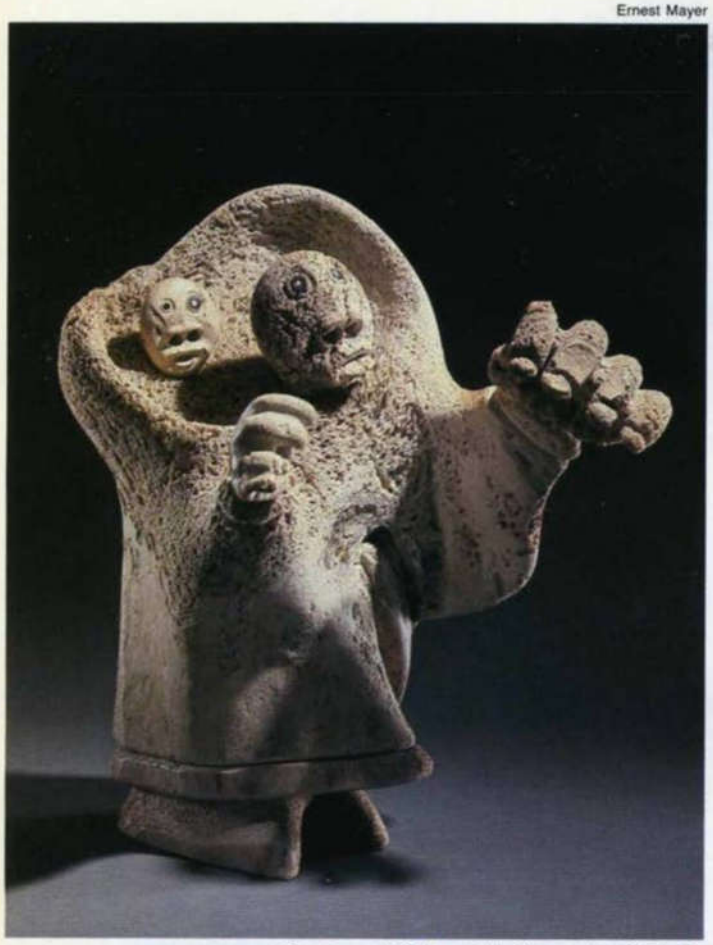


'Bear', 1973, by Karoo Ashevak (1940-1974) of Spence Bay. A work in whale bone, antler and stone.

the United States are very restricted and are determined by such factors as reason for movement, whether the sculpture was held in a controlled environment on the effective date of the Endangered Species Act of 1973, and so on, and I can only recommend a direct letter of inquiry to the National Marine Fisheries Service, United States Department of Commerce, for each individual case. Oddly enough, the United States still allows Alaskan native people not only to use whale products in their handicrafts, but to hunt actively limited numbers of this endangered species.

The 1975 freeze on shipment of whale-bone sculpture into the United States caused quite a stir at the time, and was thought to have effectively curtailed whale-bone carving and with it the disruption of Thule sites. Pressure is still being exerted on the United States authorities through various channels to convince them to allow the importation of Inuit whale-bone sculpture, especially as the Endangered Species Act comes up for Congressional reauthorization this year. Even without the United States, however, it would appear that there is still a considerable market for whale-bone sculpture. Whale-bone carvings from places like Spence Bay, Pangnirtung and Clyde River are readily available through Canadian Arctic Producers, although not in as great a number as previously.

Ernest Mayer



'Coming and Going of the Shaman', c.1973. By Karoo Ashevak. Whale bone, antler and stone. From the collection of George Sutherland in Spence Bay.

That whale bone should continue to be a medium desired by some artists — and some collectors — is understandable considering its particular properties. Bones of the bowhead whale, such as the mandible, maxilla, skull, scapula and vertebra, provide the artist with an opportunity to work on a large scale with a medium that is naturally formed into interesting and suggestive shapes. Taking his cue from the shape of the bone, the artist may only work the surface enough to bring forth the form he sees there. Thus in Joanassee Kakee's sculpture, the body of the vertebra is carved into a face, the transverse processes become its arms with clenched terminal hands, while an added mask-like face rests in the opening of the spinal canal.

Other artists, like Karoo Ashevak, may have a sculptural concept first and then look for a piece of bone appropriate for their subject. His carving of the 'Coming and Going of the Shaman' provides an outstanding example of how the properties and characteristics of whale bone can be effectively used by the sensitive artist. The title of this work is derived from Karoo's explanation that the sculpture represents the transfer of shamanic

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'Two Faces', c. 1969. By Joanassee Kakee of Pangnirtung. From the J. Twomey Collection, Winnipeg Art Gallery.

powers, or the shaman spirit, from one shaman to another. The transference of powers is symbolically represented by the size and age of the two people. The larger head and hand are those of the shaman who is disappearing as his abilities pass to the appearing shaman, signified by the smaller head and hand. In keeping with his young shamanic age, the novice's head and hand are not only smaller, they are of lighter-coloured, denser bone. On the other hand the sage and soon-to-be-eclipsed status of the knowledgeable elder is reinforced through the use of more porous, darker-coloured bone. The union of these two spiritual mates is conveyed by their sharing of one body, while the typical format of an Inuit mother with a child in her amautiq relates to the older shaman's nurturing, instructing, empowering and spiritual raising of his offspring.

Karoo achieved the contrast of bone types in this work by adding the heads and the larger hand to the sculpture by pegging them into place. His technical expertise and delight with putting things together — and taking them apart — contributed to the complexity of his work. In Spence Bay he was recognized for his time-consuming and painstaking attention to details and finishing touches so evident in such characteristics as the inset eyes involving multiple rings in materials of contrasting colour.

Adding other media to the whale-bone sculpture is not unusual. Antler, ivory, baleen, stone and even wood may be utilized for contrasts in colour and texture. Yet these are generally restricted to minor touches which embellish the bone in a small but important way. In many cases the bone itself seems to be versatile enough. As seen in the 'Coming and Going of the Shaman', bone may be of different porosity and colour. The texture of the bone naturally varies from the porous interior to the more solid exterior and this is further affected by external forces over the years, just as whale bone is bleached by the sun or dyed by the soil. The bone used in whale-bone sculptures can range in colour from white, to cream, to brown, to

virtually black. Unlike whale bone, baleen is rarely used on its own as a sculptural medium. Instead it most often functions as an inset or attached accent on stone or ivory carvings, as well as on the whale bone. Slabs of baleen are sometimes used as the base or background for a scene of ivory or stone figures.

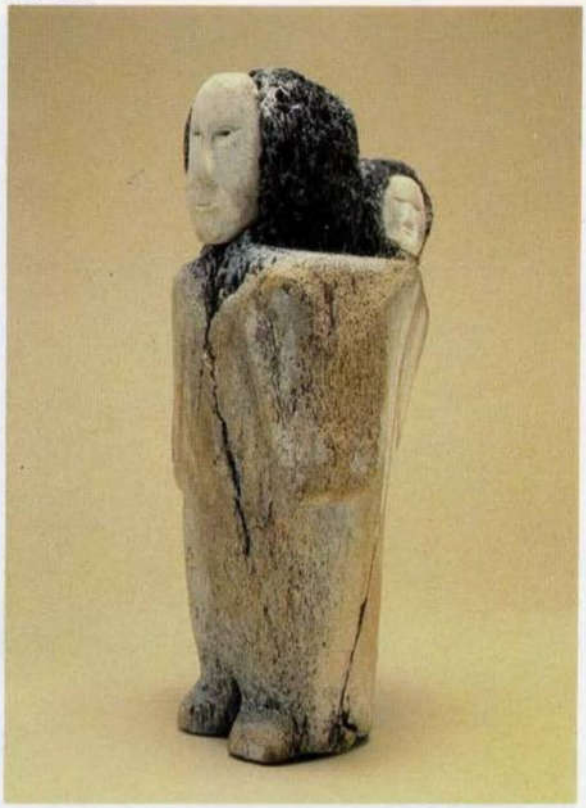
It is its size that sets whale bone apart from other sculptural materials. Structurally the bone enables northern artists to achieve, with a natural, indigenous medium, sculptures of a magnitude otherwise just not possible. But whale-bone sculptures are not always done on a large scale. Sometimes the artist will, for whatever reason, carve a small sculpture in bone that could equally as well have been made in another medium. Perhaps the bone was more readily available, or perhaps the artist wanted to take advantage of the natural colouring (as Alexina Panana Naktar of Repulse Bay has done in her charming 'Mother and Child' made of whale bone with inset antler faces), or perhaps the artist simply preferred working with whale bone.

Not all sculptors like carving in bone. It may be preferable to very hard stone that is difficult to carve, but whale bone can be a tricky medium to work with. It may abruptly change from one consistency to another within one piece, and it may crack or split at any time. Such cracks, if they occur in the process of carving, may be integrated into the piece; at other times they can easily destroy the sculpture after hours of carving have already been spent. It is this structural tension and the bone's sensitivity to fluctuations in temperature and humidity that account for the cracks that develop in once-perfect pieces when they arrive in the South. Several Arctic Bay carvers, quoted in the book *We Don't Live in Snow Houses Now*, refer to the difficulty of carving bone, and Oorebecca Issuqanqituq remarks: 'I like carving whale bone as well, although I didn't carve it often. The only people who do carve it are those who know which pieces of bone are good and which are not, and how to handle it.'

Another consideration with whale bone is that it must be aged for carving. Green bone is oily and smelly; it simply cannot be properly worked. This too explains the desirability of bone from Thule sites where it is available, accessible, well aged and bleached clean. Fresh bones from a bowhead whale, even if to be found at the present time, still would need considerable ageing — some experts estimate from 50 to 100 years.

Although whale bone is usually associated with carving, especially large works, the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative in Cape Dorset has, on several occasions, experimented with a whale-bone slab as a printing block. According to Terry Ryan the coloured background in the prints 'Sea Sprite' (1961/#73) and 'Levilivela' (1966/#63) were printed from a flat piece of whale bone. For example, in making the former print, the printers cut the bone into a slab about two inches thick with a saw, inked the flat surface as they would a printing stone,

Larry Ostrom



'Mother and Child', c.1970. By Alexina Panana Naktar of Repulse Bay. Carved of whale bone with inset antler faces. In the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, a gift from the Klamer family. Reproduced by permission of the Naujat Cooperative, Repulse Bay, N.W.T., on behalf of the artist.

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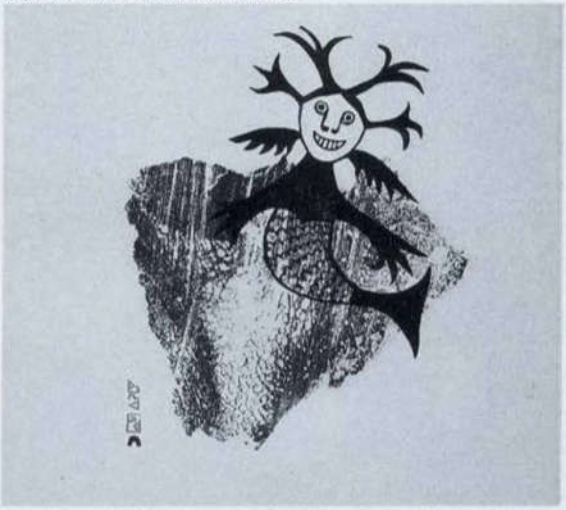


'Sea Sprite', 1961. A stonecut by Udluriak Towkie. In this print a whale-bone slab was used as a printing block for the coloured background.

Ernest Mayer

placed the paper face down on it, and then rubbed the paper to transfer the ink onto it from the bone. Once this background area had been applied the image of the sea sprite was overprinted from a stone plate. A printed background, often of contrasting colour, was not uncommon in early Cape Dorset graphics, but it was normally applied with a paint roller.

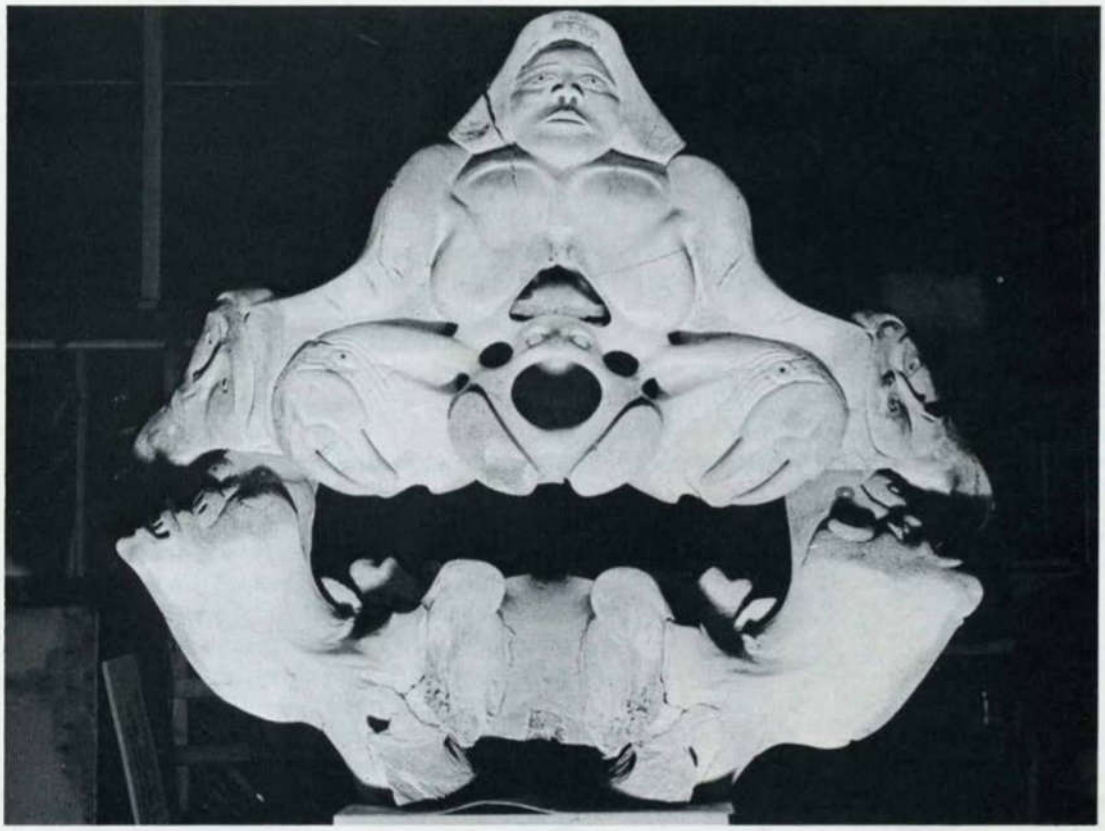
In contemporary Inuit sculpture, the use of whale bone as a medium does not seem to have any symbolic connotations. Although a number of the carvings selected for illustration here tend to relate to shamanism, spirits or Taleelayo, many whale-bone works represent the everyday activities of animals and humans. Yet it is tempting to associate whale bone with spiritual representations, its qualities are so effective in suggesting the mysteries of the supernatural. Certainly the myth of Taleelayo, so closely associated with whales and sea animals is an appropriate subject to be relayed in bone, and Karoo Ashevak's carvings, so many of which were of shamanic subjects, are not conceivable in any other medium. Shamans and Taleelayo, in fact, are subjects that are not unrelated in Eskimo mythology, for it was the shaman who had to intercede with the goddess in time of want, when animals were hard to find and difficult to catch.

Abraham Anghik, a young sculptor from Paulatuk now living in Vancouver, demonstrates this relationship in his impressive complex sculpture that so effectively conveys not only the essence and spirit of traditional Eskimo cosmology but basic universal concerns as well. The double-sided sculpture is formed from two bowhead skull caps hinged together. Sedna, a ripe, full female figure is opposed back to back with the sage and wizened shaman. Her side of the carving, especially her smoothly polished upper torso is of dense, white bone in contrast to the darker-coloured more porous and more textured surface on the side of the shaman. Sedna's torso is open and rounded, her arms formed by whales, her folded legs, walruses. Below and to her side are her father and her brother. United to the sea goddess but appearing on the opposite side of the sculpture is the shaman. The small heads above him represent his human charges, the animals beside and below him, his helping spirits. Both symbolically and in actual form the work signifies the duality of the universe; positive and negative space, fullness and void, male and female, land and sea, human and spiritual. ◆

The front and back views of 'Shamans', 1970. By George Arluk of Rankin Inlet. Whale bone, antler and wood. From the J. Twomey Collection in the Winnipeg Art Gallery, with appreciation to the Province of Manitoba and the Government of Canada. Reproduced by permission of the Kissarvik Cooperative, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., on behalf of the artist.

'Sedna and Angatkro with Familiars', 1981. By Abraham Anghik of Paulatuk. Whale bone, antler, ivory and grey stone. From the collection of John Adams in Vancouver.

Murray Halliday



Edward Michell Pierce and his wife Lydia. Courtesy of Ernest Pierce

Edward Michell Pierce
The Founder of Cannington Manor

By Ruth Humphrys

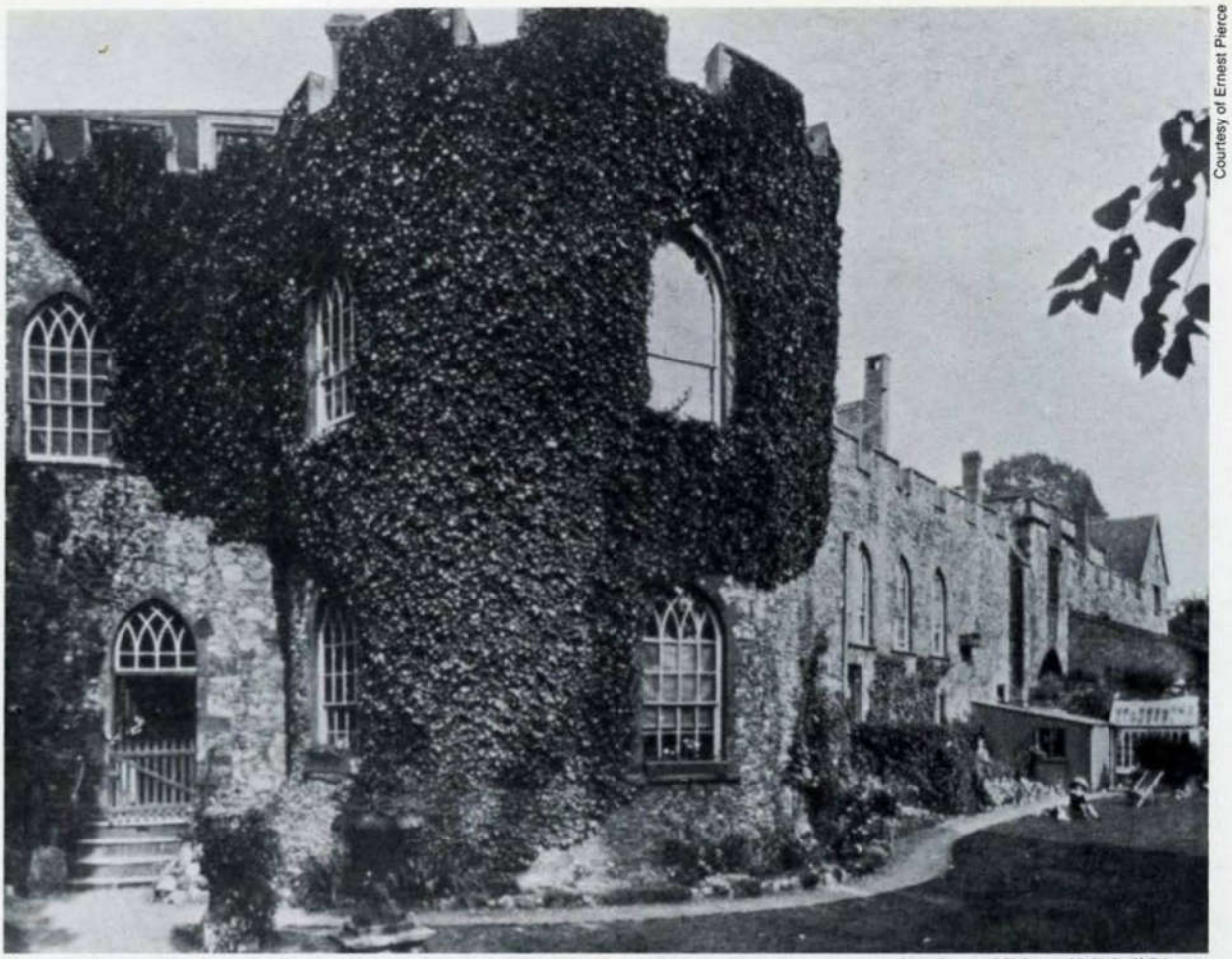
A British community for 'gentlemen of means' was founded in 1882 by Captain Edward Michell Pierce, a charming, urbane gentleman from Somersetshire, England.

Today the site in south-east Saskatchewan is preserved as the Cannington Manor Historic Park; a number of the original buildings have been reconstructed by the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources.

IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND in 1881 the news from Canada was full of hope and promise. A railway was being built across the great country. It was boom time in the unknown Northwest; land for the asking, it was said. Towns and settlements were springing up overnight, fortunes were being made. Truly it was the stuff of dreams. Everyone seemed to know someone who had gone, or was going, or talking of going. Many set forth.

Disillusionment came quickly. The impoverished who had nothing to lose found that their new life was much like the old one: unbearable hardship and a daily fight for survival. Some established themselves, many abandoned their land with their dreams. The adventurers lived by their wits, and, if lucky, remittances from home. The responsible settler with enough money to build a house and live until his farm was producing, fought weather and living conditions more extreme and primitive than anything he had ever known. But the lure of owning one's own land was not to be denied, and he came with his family and they fought and worked together for what they wanted.

Author Ruth Humphrys of Ottawa has written several articles on Cannington Manor. The Humphrys family was one of the first to establish a home in the Cannington area.



Courtesy of Ernest Pierce

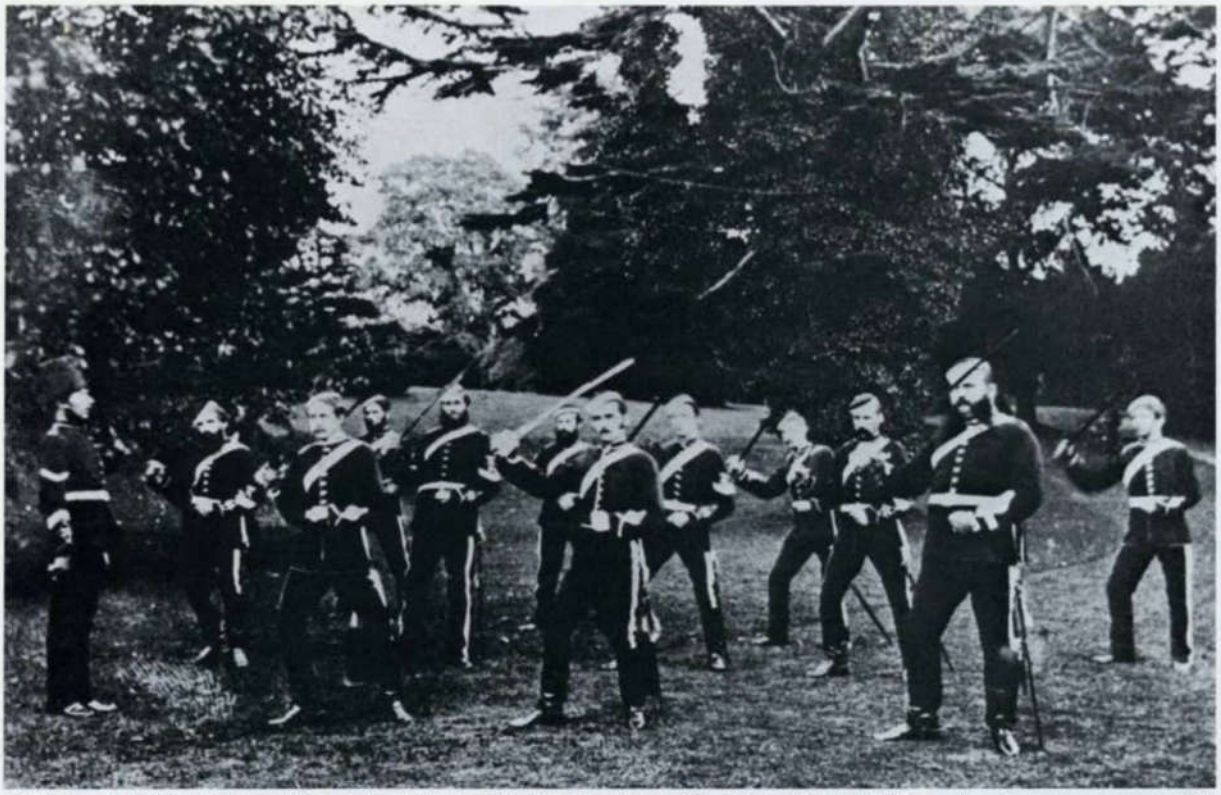
Taunton Castle, Somerset, England, the Pierce home at one time. Edward Camperdown Pierce, son of Lydia and Edward Michell Pierce, was born here in 1863.

Such a man was Edward Michell Pierce of Somersetshire, England, a Captain in the Yeomanry. Tall, heavy-set, of imposing bearing, he was, according to those who knew him, persuasive, ambitious, and ever-optimistic; a charming, urbane gentleman of distinguished lineage. The arms of the Pierce family were granted and patented by the Heralds' College of England in 1560, and down through the centuries the family tree is sprinkled with the names of the prominent, the colourful, and the excellent.

There was William Harvey, M.D., discoverer of the circulation of the blood, a connection through marriage. A Pierce was the Keeper of the Wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I. There was Richard Pierce who was hanged, drawn and quartered for participating in the Monmouth Rebellion at Glastonbury in 1685. The name of Lord Admiral Duncan, created Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, whose monument is in St Paul's Cathedral, appears on the genealogical chart, as does that of Captain John Miller on whose ship, *Theseus,* Nelson hoisted his flag. The names 'Duncan' and 'Harvey' have been popular in the family to the present day. On a long-ago occasion when one of the family was being questioned about some of these illustrious forebears, she wrote,'...the peculiarities of my father stood in the way of more copious information, he would only say, "it does not make us the grander...the King himself [George III] is but a man and a very foolish one, too".'

The name 'Michell' first appeared in the family records in 1829 when Edward Pierce married Elizabeth Michell of Devon. The name came from Mont St Michel in Normandy where early generations of the family lived, and where on the ceiling of the old abbey the Michel coat of arms, three swans, can still be seen. It was an Edouard Michel who came over with William the Conqueror and established the English branch of the family. Several early churches in south-west England chose the name St Michael's because of their parishioners' associations with the old Norman monastery.

The Michells were a wealthy family, having been granted various land holdings in London, Hertfordshire, and Somersetshire, including the Manor of Cannington, near Bridgewater. When Edward Michell Pierce, the



Officers of the Yeomanry drilling at Strawberry Hill, Devon, about 1880. Edward Michell Pierce, here learning a new sword exercise with his officers, is in the front row, extreme right. His eldest son, Duncan Michell, is on his right.

eldest son of the union of the two families, sought a name for the village he founded in Assiniboia, Canada, in 1882, he decided on 'Cannington', the name so long associated with his mother's family. 'Manor' was added at the request of the Post Office to avoid confusion with the town of Cannington in Ontario.

Pierce's decision to emigrate had been prompted by a sudden reversal in his financial affairs. He and his wife, Lydia, had eight children, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-seven, and the future looked bleak in England where their reduced income would scarcely pay the rates and taxes. A daughter, Lily, in her memoirs, attributes the loss of their money to 'a bank failure' but a son, perhaps more privy to his father's affairs, had another explanation. According to him, his father shared in the ownership of three merchant ships sailing to Africa and various ports in Asia. Eager to expand, the owners invested all their capital in a bigger, more modern ship. On either her second or third voyage she was wrecked, all hands were lost, and her owners' dreams of wealth went down with her. Pierce had gambled and lost. He would try again and succeed. They would start anew in Canada.

Michell Pierce, as he was usually called, and his son, Harvey, preceded the family to Toronto in the summer of 1882. When Lydia and the other children joined them a few weeks later there was a house ready for them. Duncan, the eldest son, left immediately to find a suitable property in the Northwest. At that time the railway had reached what is now Moosomin, then known simply as The Fourth Siding. It was a mere scattering of four tents, those of the North West Mounted Police, the Land Office, the Land Guides, and R.D. McNaughton, pioneer storekeeper and father of Major-General A.C. McNaughton. Two years later the community had a population of two hundred and fifty; there were five hotels and five stores, as well as 'a collection of untidy wooden houses. I ought to describe the hotel but words fail me!' wrote a disillusioned young English woman. Frances Pierce, who had gone to Buffalo to visit friends before joining her family, had to stay overnight at the hotel, and wrote of it in her memoirs, '...a small trestle bed on which for covering was a horsecloth, and a faded red table cloth, a bench before a window held a basin for washing, and one chair completed the furniture of the room. As I retired a girl came in and pinned an apron across the window which looked out into the yard where all the "rigs" and horses were.'

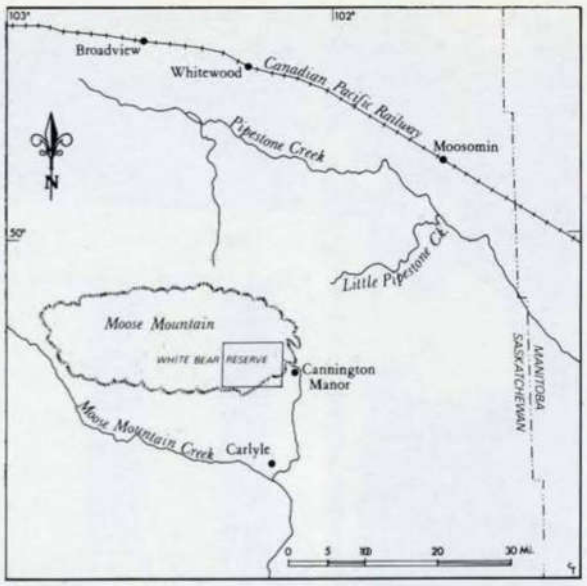
Duncan found his way south to the Moose Mountain area. Seen on a bright summer's day, the countryside was all a man could dream of: a gently rolling parkland of rich unbroken soil, sprinkled with the myriad colours of unknown prairie flowers, here and there wild fruit trees with promise of a good crop, and on the hills, birch,

poplar, ash and maple trees, building materials at hand. It was easy to visualize the small sparkling lakes as holiday spots with good fishing, swimming and boating. Duncan sent for his father who, when he saw his son's choice, knew it was the right one. He duly made applications for homesteads and pre-emptions for himself and his four sons, but it was not so simple. He learned to his chagrin that the land he had chosen had been withdrawn from settlement; but the Captain was a man of purpose and he would not give up without being given the reason. He went to Ottawa. He did not know Cabinet Minister David Macpherson, soon to be appointed Minister of the Interior, and was refused an interview, but he persisted until his card was sent in. When Macpherson saw the name he welcomed Pierce at once. The minister was a friend of Brigadier-General Edward Michell, for whom his visitor had been named, and so impressed was he by this well-spoken and enterprising gentleman that he arranged an appointment with Sir John A. Macdonald. The prime minister too was persuaded by the Captain's enthusiasm and assurances that he would establish a British community of 'gentlemen of means' on this desirable property, and took immediate steps to have the land thrown open for one day. Entry was made for the father and his four sons and the land was theirs. In later years Pierce always maintained that the prime minister had assured him that a branch line of the railway would be built to Cannington.

But the happiness of the family in overcoming the first hurdle turned to sadness when in August, Annie, the second daughter, fell ill of typhoid fever and died in Toronto. She was twenty-seven years old. It was a sorrowing family who moved on to Winnipeg where Mrs Pierce and the girls stayed with friends while the men went on to Assiniboia to build their house.

It was November when they started. A sergeant of the North West Mounted Police was detailed to give them help and advice, and Sam Whitlock, a settler, was hired for his practical knowledge. As the first requirement was shelter, they dug a cellar and pulled planks over the top. Lily Pierce wrote, 'next morning there was two feet of snow on top of them'. With such an incentive the work proceeded apace. Additional help was taken on, and by January of 1883 sufficient progress had been made to enable Duncan to go to Winnipeg for the women of the family.

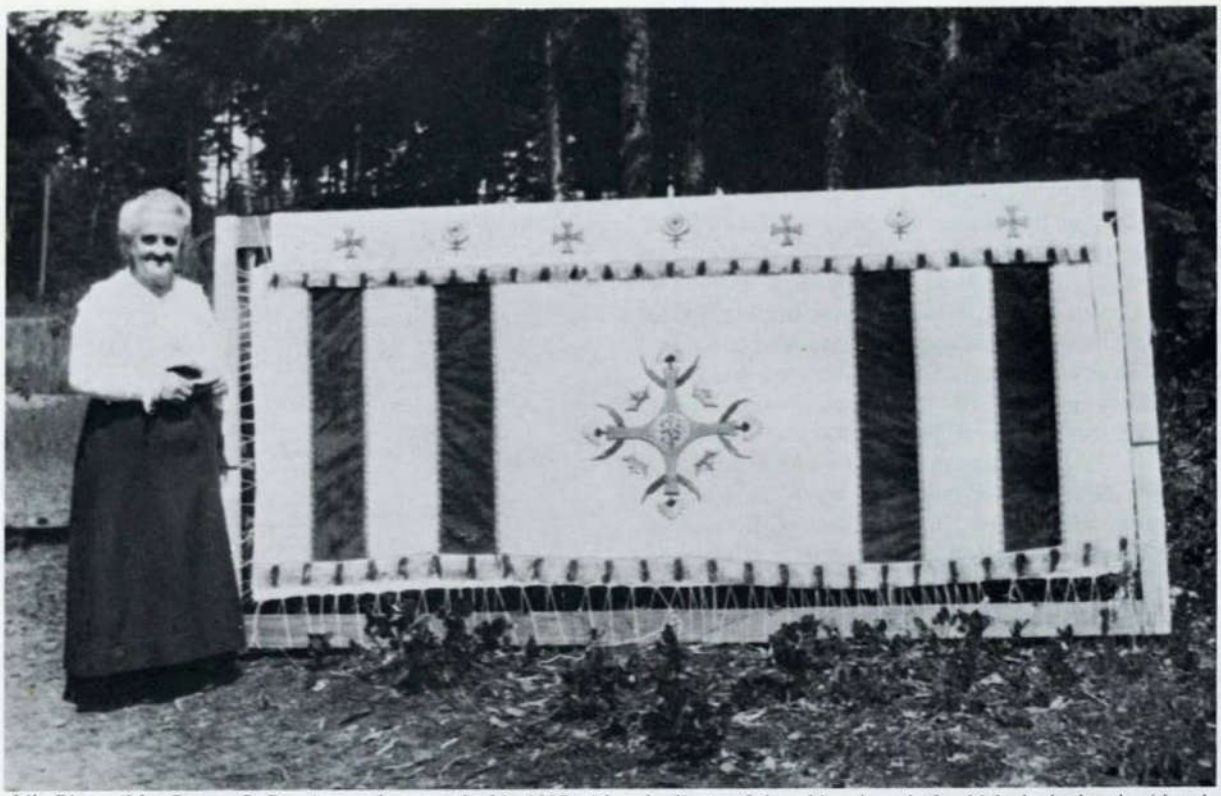
Lily described their journey from the Fourth Siding: 'It was very cold. The only team of horses available when we arrived at Moosomin belonged to Homer Smith who lived on the Pipestone, and he agreed to drive us out, a journey of about forty or forty-five miles. We had to sleep in two places to break the journey, on account of the snow which made the trails so heavy. At one house, twelve by sixteen, there were fourteen people sleeping there that night. Six women were upstairs, and eight men slept below. We peeped down through a knot hole in the floor, and saw them lying in rows, rolled up in their blankets with their clothes for pillows, the usual way in those days



Cannington Manor and vicinity, c. 1888.

when they could not find a bed to sleep on. [Some of the settlers along the trail made a little extra money by putting up travellers and new arrivals on their way to take up their land. The going rate was seventy-five cents, occasionally a dollar, for bed, supper, breakfast, and hay for the horses or oxen. Others considered charging a wayfarer in need of food and shelter an invidious way of adding to their income and gladly shared what they had with anyone in need of assistance.] We left next morning after having our feet rubbed with oil of capsicum, to prevent them freezing. In those days none of us knew the danger of taking a long journey in such severe cold. There was the "Big Plain" to get over, a distance of eighteen miles, without the least shelter in the event of a blizzard. It need hardly be said that we were extremely glad to reach our destination, and to be all together again. The sight of our brothers in overalls, mitts and queer fur caps amused us girls immensely. ...Being such a large family we had two ordinary houses side by side, with a passage between, one roof going over both. A west room was added later. The left half of our house was only chinked and plastered just in time for our arrival. We girls had one bedroom and father and mother the other upstairs. The large sitting room was downstairs. Entrance to the cellar was in the passage, one half of which was used for our stores, the other for the kitchen, which also served as a sleeping place for our boys and any visitors, all lying on the floor in rows like sardines. Sometimes when the visitors were numerous they were so tightly packed that if one turned over the whole row had to do the same.'

These visitors were sometimes the police or a visiting clergyman, occasionally a neighbour or even a stranger, delayed by the weather. It was unthinkable to turn anyone away. The Indians of the nearby reserve promptly named



Public Archives of Canada C-119832

Lily Pierce (Mrs George S. Page) was photographed in 1927 with a duplicate of the white altar cloth which she had embroidered for All Saints Church, Cannington Manor, in 1885.

the house 'Gitche Wa Tepee', meaning 'Great White House'.

'It was all such a change from our luxurious life in England,' continued Lily, 'but we were young and full of life, had the great joy of being all together, and everything seemed a joke, and so we were very happy.'

They appear to have adapted quickly. The girls learned, after some disastrous failures, how to bake bread, prepare the staple winter diet of beans and bacon, and to pluck and cook the wild ducks when available. It was considered by 'ladies' to be 'bad form' to complain, and there is no record that any of them ever did. They realized before they left home how different life would be and the indomitable Lily 'took a course' in the proper way to launder, starch, and iron her father's and brothers' dress shirts. An effort was made to dress for dinner on week-ends. It is not recorded how long this impractical tradition was maintained, but in a house where one could see one's breath and the damp laundry froze, it was probably of short duration.

The family quickly acquired a pony and buckboard and two teams of oxen. In compliance with the regulations a small area of each of the five homesteads was broken, and in October of their first year it was proudly recorded that with the help of neighbours they had harvested eighty bushels of wheat, forty-five of barley and one hundred and thirty of oats, all of which had been sown by hand. When the first church service in the settlement was held in the Pierce dining-room that same month, it must have been truly a service of Thanksgiving.

Archdeacon Pinkham, later the Bishop of Rupert's Land, had come to the settlement to baptize the first children born there, Lily Hindmarch and Alfred Turton, some of whose descendants are still farming in the district. The archdeacon and Michell Pierce discussed the need for a church in the community and the decision was made to undertake the project. Pierce, persuaded by his daughters, donated the land for the church, cemetery, stable, and vicarage. Two months later Ted (Edward Camperdown) Pierce hauled in the first load of logs from 'The Mountain'. Everyone who could, lent a hand. All winter the hauling and cornering of the logs went on, and by June of 1884, so many settlers had delivered their gift of logs that the 'raising' took place. Friends and relatives 'across the water' shared the enthusiasm and added their contributions to the project. Mrs Pierce, who had the reputation of being an organizer, took charge of the funds and was able to pay a small wage, although less than the going rate, to the workers and craftsmen who had pitched in so willingly, although many of the settlers gave their time. One year later they were ready to declare the church 'open'. When Bishop Anson of the Diocese of Fort Qu'Appelle came to officiate, he was astonished and delighted by what he found. This was no stark little prairie

mission but a carefully constructed log church of cruciform design, perfectly proportioned, with hand-hewn beams, neatly plastered inside and out, the plastering scored to resemble stone, and complete with Gothic windows and tower, belfry and spire. It was handsomely furnished with an altar, choir stalls, pews, lectern, communion table and bishop's chair and stool, all made by two skilled carpenters and Charles Pryce, a master joiner from Scotland, who also did the carving. He cut his fee from thirty cents to twenty-seven and a half cents an hour as his contribution to the church.

There was an organ purchased by one of the English colony from a settler who had won the somewhat inappropriate prize in a newspaper competition. Ted Pierce donated a silver school trophy to be used as communion cup and Lily embroidered an exquisite white altar cloth on which stood brass vases and candlesticks. Six-foot candelabra stood on either side of the bishop's chair and a brass chandelier hung from the high point of the ceiling over the prayer desk. When the bishop took note of this labour of love he decided at once to consecrate the building as a fully established church, the first in his Diocese of Qu'Appelle.

It was a proud and happy congregation that assembled on that summer morning. A surpliced choir was in the stalls with Lily Pierce at the organ as the bishop conducted the service and named the church 'All Saints' in recognition of a church in Selsey, Gloucestershire, whose congregation had sent donations, and whose rector was the father of three of the young settlers: Spencer, George, and William Page.

Michell Pierce and Spencer Page were named the first churchwardens, and it seemed to follow naturally that the first wedding in the new church should be that of Frances Michell Pierce to Spencer Page. It took place in November of 1885, and before settling down to their arduous prairie life, the young couple had the joy of returning to England on an extended honeymoon trip. Page was the first schoolteacher in Cannington Manor and, later, when the district became an electoral division, he was the first member elected, and subsequently the first Clerk of the Assembly for the Province of Saskatchewan.

The little parish flourished. In 1886 a vicar, the Reverend W. St John Field, became the first resident clergyman, and his name, along with the names of the churchwardens, is inscribed on the brass bell that was installed at that time. Inevitably, some of the fine appointments donated later commemorated the tragic times. A paten and inlaid cross were sent from England by Canon and Mrs Blagden in memory of their son, a churchwarden, Frederick Robert, who was lost in a blizzard. A Mrs Lyons and her daughter embroidered the carpet of the chancel, kneeling pads, and fine altar cloths, in an intricate lily and vine design, and dedicated their handiwork to their son and brother, Ashton, another victim of the fierce prairie storms.

The heart-breaking tragedies and back-breaking toil were not hinted at in the glowing advertisements that Michell Pierce published in the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Yorkshire Gazette,* and other British newspapers. '...young men with a little capital looking about for something to do, I especially counsel to join their countrymen here. They should, however, before launching into business on their own accord, place themselves with an English gentleman settler abroad for a time, and acquire a thorough and practical knowledge of farming generally, as peculiar to this country, the old world style being of little or no avail in the Great Northwest. This is an English colony, English manners and customs being rigidly adhered to. I shall take pleasure in providing the fullest information and advice, and will secure land and locate young men, if they will correspond with me.'

They came in satisfying numbers. Some stayed with the Pierce family, for somewhere in this hodgepodge of two houses another room had been added and divided into eight cubicles. Some went to the other settlers, and some built, or, more likely, had built for them, 'a bachelor's shack'. For one hundred pounds a year, which included room and board, they were going to learn to farm. To many British families this was a happy solution to the problem of what to do with the son who could not, or would not, live up to what was expected of him, who had been 'sent down' from university, or had failed to be accepted by the church or the military. The young men seemed to make the transition from the civilized ease of the privileged classes in England to the rough pioneer world of the Canadian prairies with remarkable adaptability. Perhaps it was because there was no stern 'paterfamilias sounding off' and demanding to know 'when you intend to make something of yourself', or there was no gentle mother biting her lip with an air of forbearance that would bring a twinge of guilt to even the most aimless.

So they came, the misfits, the adventurers and the resolute ones, many from the best-known British public schools and universities. They scrambled off the train at Moosomin, full of expectation, eager for excitement, ready for anything. By ox-cart or stagecoach they jostled over the bone-shaking trail to the sparse little village 'set down in the middle of nowhere'. They brought along their tennis rackets, their cricket bats and stumps, and their guncases. Some included books, paintboxes, easels and musical instruments, and, of course, their evening dress and riding habits.

That he knew little about farming and was not in robust health did not deter Pierce in his efforts to train the young men who came to him. He built a small house for a local farmer, 'Scotty' Bryce, and hired him to teach 'the pupils' — a designation that immediately gave rise to the epithet, 'Captain Pierce's pups'. For many of the 'pups' the business of learning to farm was not going to interfere with the serious business of pleasure. Pierce had said in his advertisement that 'one could lead and enjoy an old English squire's existence of a century ago', and

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The village of Cannington Manor looking east, c. 1897. All Saints Church is on the right and the Pierce house is in the distance just to the left of the church.

many of the new arrivals made every effort to prove him right. 'I was glad when the young gentlemen took to tennis,' said their sorely tried mentor, Scotty, 'so I could get on with the work!'

Much has been written about 'the remittance men' of the Canadian prairies, and undoubtedly, Cannington Manor imported its full complement. It was a derogatory term, synonymous with 'irresponsible, lazy, hard-drinking,' and any other negative qualities their critics chose to apply; but in fairness, Cannington Manor had many serious young colonists who, with or without help from home, worked hard, established themselves, and contributed their energy and vision to the development of the country.

Pierce himself toiled and planned. He paced out the village street and supervised Charles Pryce, the carpenter who placed the pegs. 'Charley' called him 'the city contractor' because he was so sure that 'someday there will be a city here.' Pierce may have been a dreamer but he was also a man of shrewd common sense. He donated the land for the village with the agreement that he would own one-third of the various businesses as they were established. With partners Ernest Maltby and Harry and Robert Bird he formed the Moose Mountain Trading Company which owned the buildings of the village, except for the church, vicarage, and eventually, the school. Logs were hauled from the mountain, and by 1887, in addition to the trading company which housed the general store and post office, the company built a grist mill with a fifty-horsepower steam engine. The Mitre Hotel was open and had six more or less permanent residents; a succession of proprietors paid one hundred dollars quarterly to the Trading Company. A blacksmith's shop had been built and the Bird brothers were in their new house. Sam Brayford had already built in the bush, a sawmill with a twenty-horsepower engine and forty-eight-inch circular saw. Soon there was a shoemaker's shop, a land agent's office, and a few more houses on the village street. 'I worked on them all and built more,' said Charley Pryce. 'No blueprint, we'd measure the logs and see how long they were, and make the house that long. We'd use the shorter ones for the width.'

In spite of the flurry of building and the needs of the incoming settlers, the Moose Mountain Trading Company was not a highly profitable enterprise. It was necessary to carry a large and varied stock in an effort to satisfy the disparate needs of the steady Canadian farmers, the Indians of the nearby White Bear Reserve, and the English colonists who wanted to find on the shelves some of the items so easily obtainable back home. Of necessity, credit had to be extended to await the harvest, or payment for services or produce, or a cheque from England. 'Let no one away who needs a sack of flour,' said Harry Bird to the miller. In addition to carrying so many who were always short of cash the partners found themselves in the unhappy position of handing across the counter of their post office, shipments from the big mail-order houses. Harry Bird looked at a parcel Mrs Sheldon-Williams received one day and said,

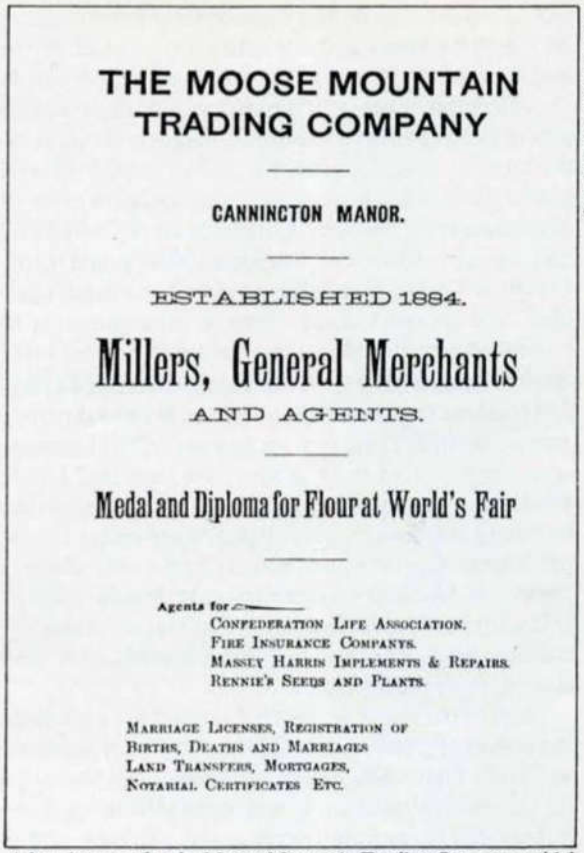
'We esteem your friendship very much. I feel sure that whatever the contents of that parcel we could have supplied it as satisfactorily.' 'I also esteem your friendship very much,' she replied, 'but friendship should not run at fifty per cent.'

The Trading Company was a bustling, cheerful, sometimes rowdy spot on mail day when the coach came in from Moosomin, and along with the frowned-upon parcels from other merchants, brought welcome news from 'across the water' to so many who longed for the family and land they had left. Some of the 'pups' were always there, longing for their remittances. If a cheque arrived the recipient and friends gratefully repaired to the Mitre where whisky was ten cents a glass and you poured your own. The young gentlemen were presumed to have been taught 'to carry their drink like gentlemen' but sometimes things got a little out of hand. On one lighthearted occasion the proprietor, an ex-police constable, in a misguided effort to restore order and enforce closing time, shot down the stove-pipe.

There was an austere period when the District of Assiniboia was 'dry' and it became necessary to find ways to overcome their unconscionable oppression. Fortunately, Manitoba was 'wet' and smugglers carried on a profitable business, but their prices were prohibitive. One settler tried to get around the high costs by putting on an old Mounted Police tunic when the whisky runners were sighted, in the hope of frightening them into abandoning their load. There is no record of the success of this ploy.

There was one well-remembered occasion when the smugglers were in town 'on business' and, over a convivial glass, they foolishly boasted of their huge cache of supplies. Certain enterprising patrons reasoned on its probable location, slipped away, and, following their rig tracks, were happily successful. They removed the lot for safe-keeping, and it was said you couldn't put your hand in the haystack behind the hotel without bringing out a bottle. In true prairie fashion it was shared with all in need. 'We had enough to float the whole village,' reminisced an old-timer nostalgically.

A note of dignity was added to the hotel's reputation when a young solicitor from Wales, Lloyd George, stopped over one night. To promote immigration, persons of influence were encouraged to visit desirable areas of the country so that, impressed by its opportunities and resources, they would take home first-hand information for prospective settlers. One of the 'pups' recalled the visit with relish because the distinguished guest had complained about the barman squirting tobacco juice as he served him his meal. The blacksmith, Hume Robertson, was more impressed. 'The smartest little damned Englishman I ever met,' he declared. 'When he left here he knew more about my business than I did.' The 'smithy' was the village forum for assembly and discussion of the politics and politicians of the day, so no doubt the visitor had the opportunity to hear some



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Advertisement for the Moose Mountain Trading Company which Pierce formed with three partners.

firmly held views on the current problems of these early grain growers.

As the settlers established themselves they formed various community associations, chief of which was the Agricultural Society. The members of this organization, as well as gathering to discuss common problems, sponsored an annual show. It was a time of relaxation and visiting for the hard-working people. They brought their livestock and grain, their poultry and vegetables, and the women added displays of flowers, canning, sewing and other handiwork. At one exhibition a piper had been asked to officiate at the opening ceremonies. With the first ear-splitting skirl, there was pandemonium. The horses stampeded, cattle and sheep scattered, flimsy pens were broken down, chickens and geese fluttered about squawking, and the carefully arranged display tables were overturned. Western horses had never heard the bagpipes.

The exhibition always closed with an entertainment put on by the residents of the village. The money thus earned went toward whatever project was of prime importance at the time. The first show given helped to pay for the schoolhouse with an assembly room above it, which later served as the town hall.

The home-grown entertainment available in those days was of a reasonably good quality, and what it may have

lacked in polish it more than made up for in the enthusiasm of the participants and the uncritical acclaim of the audience. Musical training then was an accepted part of the education of many of the settlers, and there was no lack of accompanists for singers of naughty ditties at the concerts or organists for the church music. Several pianos, including at least two 'Grands' had been bounced in ox-carts from Moosomin, over the deeply rutted trail and up and down the steep-banked Big and Little Pipestone Creeks. So it followed there was a band, a glee club, and enough trained voices in the community to present a thirty-voiced oratorio one Easter Sunday in the church. Occasionally the dramatic club presented a play, and for those so inclined there were literary and sketching groups. Bertram Tennyson, nephew of the Poet Laureate, was a member of both groups. He practised law in Moosomin, how diligently is not known, as he found time to drive a stagecoach, play cricket, write essays for the Moosomin *Spectator,* and spend fine days sketching in the woods. 'A clever and amusing chap, but oh, so lazy!' said a friend. Maybe, but he applied himself enough to publish a book, *The Land of Napioa,* a collection of short stories, essays and verse.

Most of the social life centred around the gatherings in each other's homes. For a time, Mrs Pierce appeared to be the First Lady of the settlement. An invitation to her Sunday afternoon teas depended upon one's appearance at morning service and the tacit understanding that one intended to return for evensong.

Sunday evening, in fine weather, friends and neighbours frequently gathered again in the hospitable log house. It meant a great deal to the young men who declared that 'baching is tough'. They appreciated the warm, homelike atmosphere, and no doubt the presence of three lively young women was an even greater attraction. They came, resplendent in their black coats and white collars, 'boiled rag' was their racy expression for white shirts, and under the direction of Michell Pierce they all sang hymns. 'Father had a very beautiful voice and dearly loved all the old hymn and psalm tunes, which we would sing in harmony,' wrote Frances.

Charles Couper, photographer and writer, described a Christmas dinner party at the Pierce home. 'My first Christmas was spent at "The White House" as the home of Captain Pierce and his family was called. It was an evening dress affair, rather airy garments for zero weather, but it was the custom to keep up the old country traditions. I do not remember how many sat down to that sumptuous repast. I know we all enjoyed it thoroughly, and the lively little sing-song afterwards...the men were mostly living in the bush.'

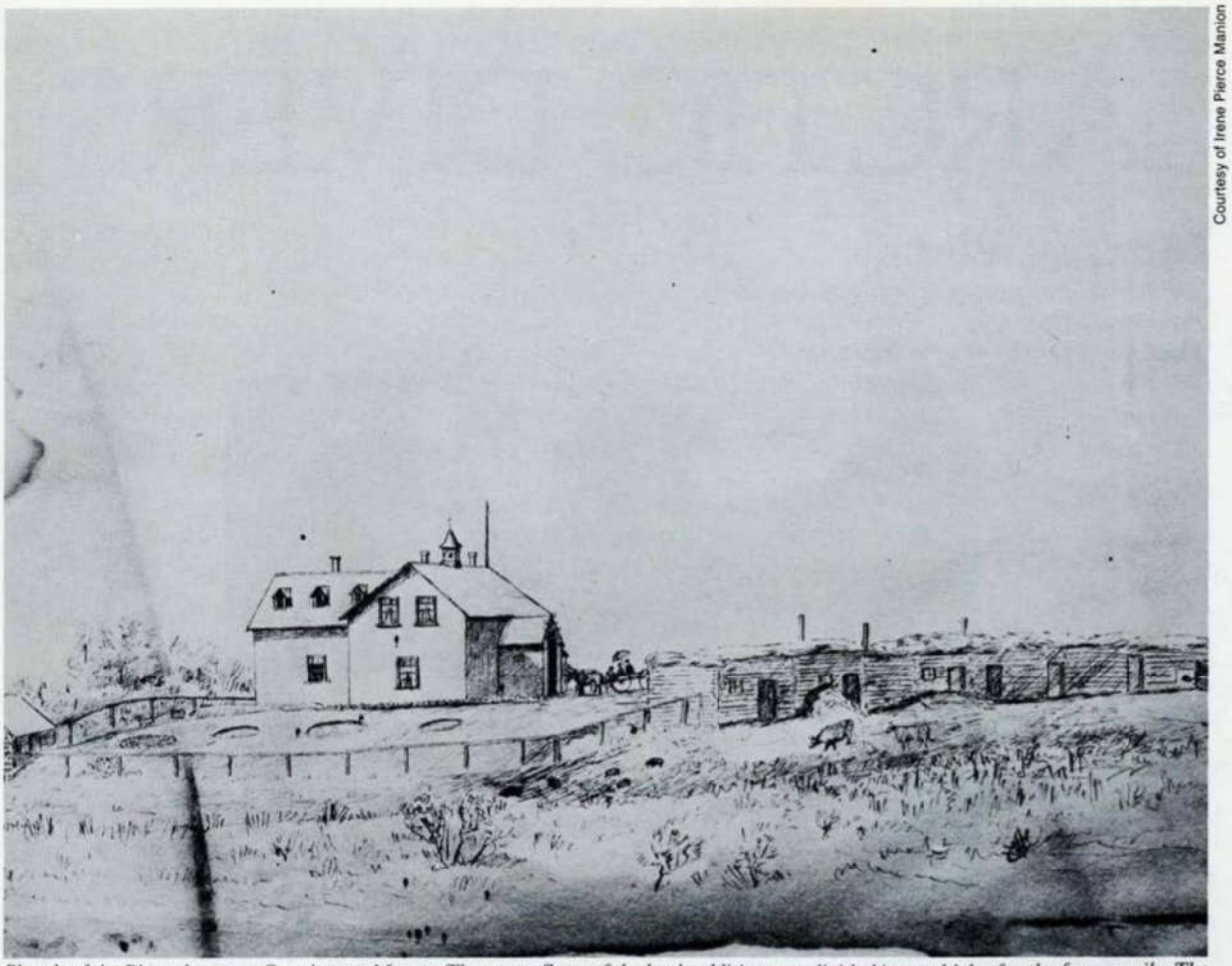
They may have been living in the bush, in dirty primitive shacks, but the caste lines were firmly drawn. The English colonists would no more have thought of asking the sturdy and supportive farmers who served them so well to their parties than the local squire in England would have invited some of the villagers to dine. The bachelors certainly had an occasional 'glass' with the farmers at the Mitre, but somehow the women did not drink tea together. Yet they were on friendly terms and good neighbours. In times of illness or the birth of a child they helped each other. Someone lost in a blizzard or threatened by a prairie fire brought out the whole community in a concerted effort, for the weather was a constant and serious hazard.

One bitingly cold day Sam Whitlock stamped into the Pierce house to say he had just come from the reservation where he had found the Indians almost starving due to the scarcity of game. Pierce had a year's supply of food on hand and without hesitation promptly arranged to share it with his Indian neighbours. Chief Wa-pe-ma-qua (White Bear) never forgot this generosity and he and Michell Pierce formed a firm and lasting friendship; for years the Indians brought gifts of venison and fish to the household.

Lily Pierce had her own vivid memory of the chief and his family. 'Another morning a young brave (one of the chief's sons) called "Sha-wa-kal-coosh" arrived, in scarlet attire, adorned with beads and eagle's feathers. He walked into the sitting room to my father and sat down, holding his Winchester rifle with a red handkerchief between his knees and bending his head down on it. He would not take any dinner and when the sun was about to set (according to Indian custom the time for asking favours) he said something in Chippewa, offering my father the pipe. Reverend Mr. Baldwin who was present and knew their language, having heard of the Indian's intended visit, thought he might assist as interpreter. "Do you understand what Sha-wa-kal-coosh is asking you, Captain?" "I haven't the faintest idea," replied my father. "Do you know?" "He is asking you to give him that daughter (looking at me) and offers his rifle for the price of her." My father's face was a sight to behold.'

There was concern in the settlement during the time of the North-West Rebellion that 'our Indians', as Lily called them, might have been incited by runners sent to the White Bear Reserve by Riel. They had called first at the Pierce house, and the Captain, sensing some unfriendliness, commanded them to smoke with him. Members of the tribe heard of the meeting and refused to join in any hostilities against a 'smoke companion'. Thus was the story told at the time. Whether the situation was really a cause for concern is not known, but it was a time when many settlers remained on the alert with rifles loaded and ready, but their fears were unfounded. One old fellow remembered, 'Ones on White Bear Reserve weren't any trouble. It was them American ones riding back and forth was the trouble. Would ride up to your very farm, very, very impident, so they was!' But 'their Indians' remained their good friends.

Perhaps it was in part because the young men of the tribe shared in some of the pleasures of the young settlers. In 1887 a sports day was organized to celebrate the golden jubilee of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne.



Courtesy of Irene Pierce Manion

Sketch of the Pierce house at Cannington Manor. The upper floor of the back addition was divided into cubicles for the farm pupils. The bell in the cupola was rung to call the men in from the fields.

Horse racing was part of the program and the Indians joined in the madcap races on their swift little ponies. The feature of the racing was a steeplechase for which a regulation course had been built, complete with eight jumps, including a fourteen-foot water jump. It was a gala day and the 'Old Lady' was feted far into the night. There were parties and dances in the big houses, and those who came from a distance had sing-songs around their campfires or gathered in the village street where the Indians held a powwow.

Such an occasion was a brief happy interlude in the serious business of encouraging the continued growth of the settlement. It was heartening that new people continued to arrive, and the Moose Mountain Company partners felt the time had come to form a Cheese Manufacturing Association. Two factories were started but they did not last long. Milk supplies were inconsistent, and the cost of freighting by ox-cart to Moosomin and then by rail to various destinations ate up the profits. Every time there was an election 'the candidate brought a railroad in his pocket' but the promises came to nothing.

It was a heart-breaking time for Pierce. He battled on but his health was failing, and he must have realized that for him the struggle was over. He was not well enough to meet several big families who had recently come to the area. He died on 20 June 1888, the sixth anniversary of the day he had left England, and was buried in the centre of the little churchyard he had donated to the village. It was sports day again, and it was with subdued spirit that the settlement carried on as planned; there was no question of cancelling it, as people had come by ox-cart or train from as far away as Regina and Winnipeg.

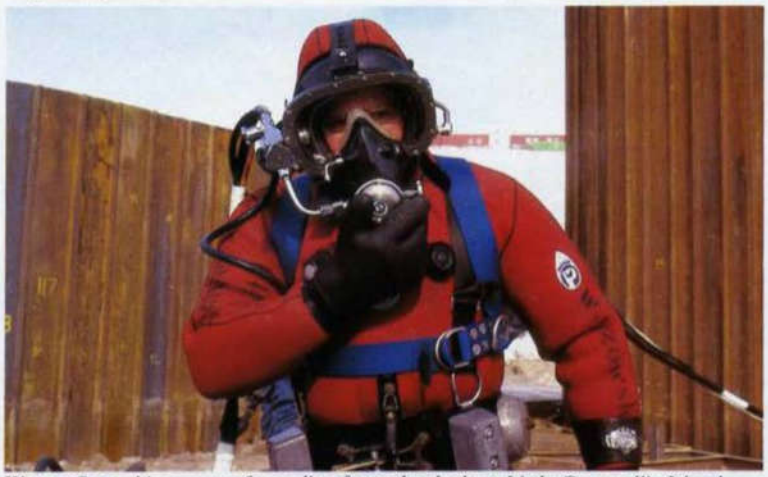
So 'The Father of the Settlement' as he was called did not live to know that his dreams were not to be, nor could he have foreseen the short, happy reign of the three Beckton brothers, two of whom were his 'pups'. With inherited wealth and a splendid flair for spending it they added another colourful and incredible chapter to the story of Cannington Manor. ◆

The story of the Beckton brothers will be told by Ruth Humphrys in the Winter 1982 issue of The Beaver.

ARCTIC DIVERS

By Mac Treilhard

Mr Treilhard of Winnipeg is dive supervisor for Arctic Divers Ltd.
Photographs are by Wayne Gzowski.



Wayne Gzowski prepares for a dive from the dock at Little Cornwallis Island.

IN 1981, COMINCO began operations at Polaris Mine, Little Cornwallis Island, eighty miles north-east of the magnetic North Pole. Effluent from the operation was pumped into Garrow Lake, several miles away. In the middle of winter, with wind-chill temperatures at about -70° F., we dived under eight feet of ice for a month to work on the pipelines carrying that effluent.

Our company is Arctic Divers Ltd. In conjunction with a surface crew, we extended two under-water pipelines which had become buried in tailings. By extending the lines farther out into the lake, from eighty feet to one hundred and twenty feet deep, and by suspending them ten feet from the lake bottom, we expected to overcome the silting problem. This arrangement continued to protect the living part of the lake and to prevent pollution of the nearby Arctic Ocean, for between the lake and the ocean there is an occasional overflow.

Working in the arctic winter presents a number of difficulties for divers. In using scuba equipment there are no regulators which will not freeze up at one time or another. In our experience, this has resulted in a malfunctioning of the diver's 'breathing-air' regulator. Only the old double-hole aqualung regulator operated unimpaired in frigid weather.

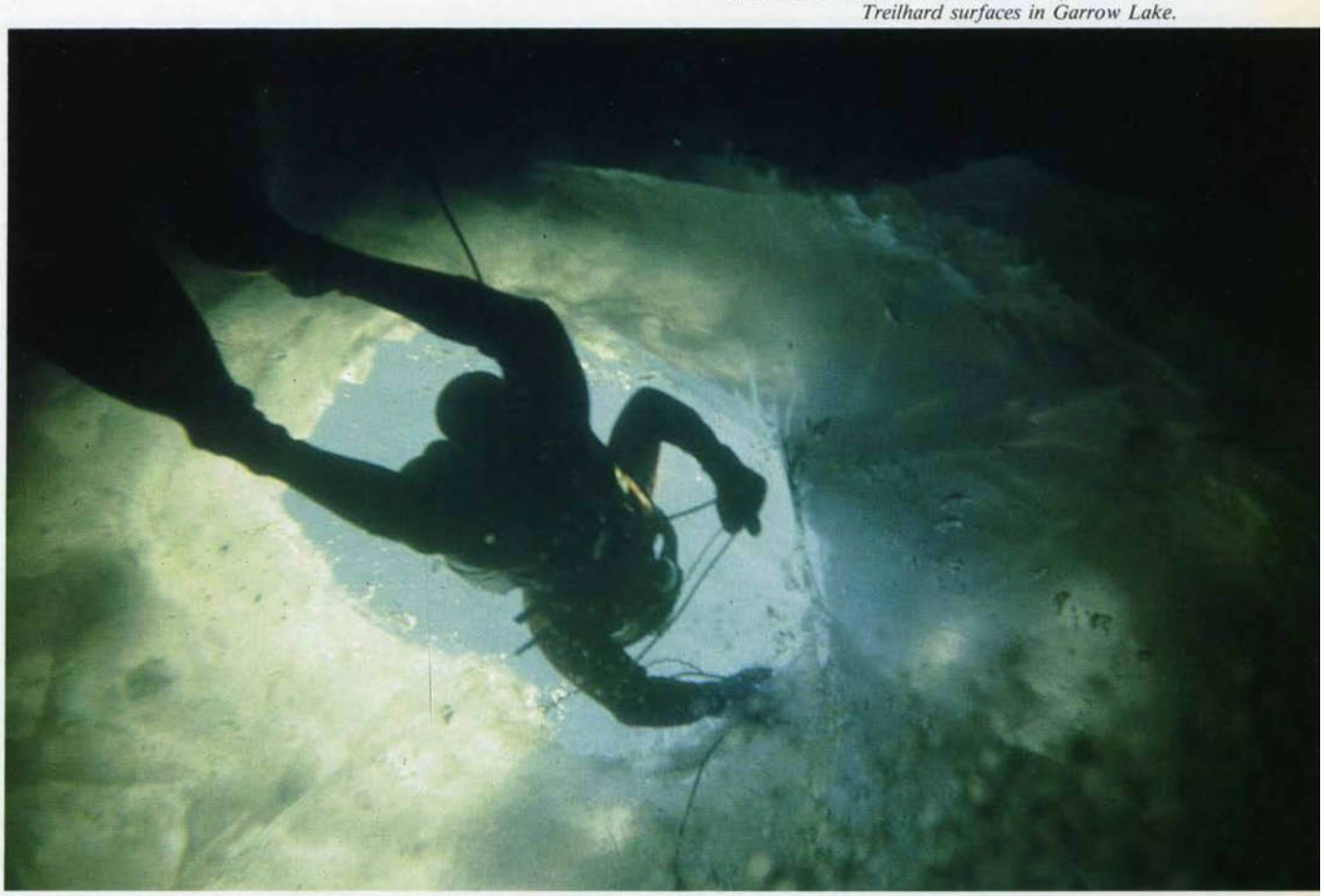
Using surface-supply, precautions must be taken to avoid ice forming in the hose. Methods to avoid this condition have taken us years of winter work to evolve. Should ice be allowed to accumulate, slivers of it will be carried to the diver's regulator and will foul it.

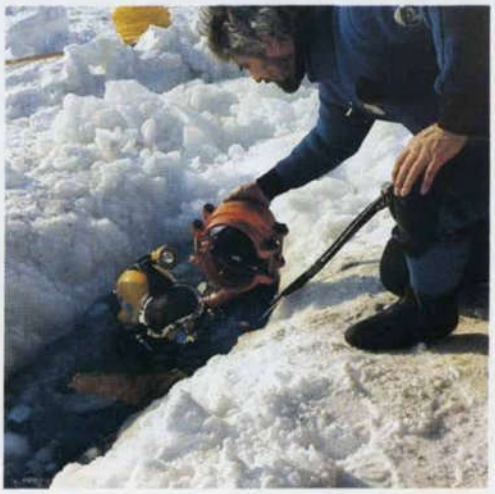
Making dive holes and trenches is a major undertaking when ice is eight feet thick. We experimented with explosives, but a blast rarely resulted in making a satisfactory opening. Ice, especially when lying on a body of water, is elastic. An extraordinary amount of standard commercial powder is needed to shatter ice to a depth of even four feet. Once a hole has been made by an explosion, it is quickly filled with large ice chunks which quickly re-freeze into a solid mass. The crater is broad, badly defined, and so, dangerous to approach.

We found that a 'Ditch-Witch' (a tractor with a blade like a chain-saw, modified to cut thick ice) was able to make clean, symmetrical holes. A chain would be slung around the resulting ice block, hooked to the bucket of a front-end loader and lifted free. In some sections there would be a dozen closely spaced dive holes. The luminescent blue of the tall ice blocks standing in an orderly row near by, suggested a northern version of Stonehenge.

Though the Ditch-Witch simplified one part of the job, it also added to our troubles by frequently breaking down. Few machines are reliable in low arctic temperatures. Metal chills and breaks, fuels congeal, blowing snow makes its way into carburetors. Should power to

Divers prepare to work beneath eight feet of ice to extend underwater pipelines carrying effluent from the Polaris Mine into Garrow Lake. Below, author Mac Treilhard surfaces in Garrow Lake.





Diver George Piper prepares to submerge.

A contrast to the majestic polar bear are the delicate life forms that inhabit the waters beneath the ice.

one heater fail, a half-day can be lost re-warming the compressor and other equipment to a working temperature.

Garrow Lake, like others in the arctic regions, contains an extra hazard — hydrogen sulphide, probably the most lethal gas a diver can encounter. Hydrogen sulphide occurs naturally in the arctic lakes, for there is little precipitation. Lakes lie for eons undisturbed by any significant flow of fresh water. Vegetable and animal matter sinks, and in decomposing, generates hydrogen sulphide, a chemical which is several times denser than water. This causes it to settle in the deeper parts of the water — its concentration increasing with the depth of the lake. In Garrow Lake, it lies in opaque, syrupy layers. The diver encounters it first at forty feet. Looking up to the ice, the fresh water is a magnificent, deep blue. Sculpins and tiny shrimp-like creatures can be seen swimming languidly. Unless the diver were otherwise informed, he would swear the first layer of hydrogen sulphide was the actual lake bottom, until he discovered himself sinking over his head in the 'mud'. Immediately he would become aware of the reek of sulphur which would become ever stronger as he progressed to depth. As he worked, trickles of now salty water would get into his mouth. Should he swallow a mouthful, he would experience headache, sore eyes and lassitude that would last for the next several days. Should he forget to ventilate the hat periodically, or develop a suit leak which wets large areas of skin, he would find himself becoming dizzy, breathing rapidly and suffering a feeling of general malaise. Of course, he must surface at this point or risk being totally overcome.

A diver seated beside the pipes that link the Polaris Mine to Garrow Lake.

Aside from one Jacques Cousteau expedition, there is no other record of dives made in hydrogen-sulphide-contaminated water. We were concerned about the prospect of lasting physical debilitation from exposure to the chemical. Though high levels of hydrogen sulphide can kill rapidly, the initial effects it has on the body are apparently temporary.

Another uniquely arctic experience at the Polaris Mines site included a visit from a polar bear. He was a forerunner of the annual spring migration which brings these animals over Little Cornwallis Island in their search for seals. Though the bear didn't investigate our activity on the lake, he did do his best to enter our bunkhouse. He paced the roof, removed a kitchen fan, broke a window and finally peered curiously through a plexiglass partition at a group of excited men, before being chased off by the dogs and an Inuit hunter.

Then there were wind-storms that would 'white-out' the country for several days running. Low temperatures and zero visibility could either bring our work to a standstill or make it very difficult.

Diving in the Arctic presents many obstacles not found in more temperate regions, as this project proved. Upon its completion, we left with valuable new experience, both on and off the job. ◆

York Factory: The Crises of Transition, 1870-1880

By Arthur J. Ray

This year marks the 300th anniversary of the Hudson's Bay Company's first post in the area of York Factory. After 250 years of activity their operations finally closed there in 1957.

THE HAYES AND ECHIMAMISH RIVERS provide the easiest water route into the western interior of Canada from Hudson Bay. This strategic advantage favoured the development of York Factory as the dominant Hudson's Bay Company post during the Company's first two centuries of operation in North America.

Until 1774, the volume of trade conducted at York Factory exceeded that of all of the other Bay-side posts. When the Company decided to expand its operations inland beginning with the construction of Cumberland House in 1774, York Factory declined as a trading centre but emerged as the principal transportation depot for the burgeoning network of posts. In 1821, it also became the headquarters of the vast Northern Department. By the 1870s, however, York Factory's heyday had passed and the post faced a severe crisis regarding its future. It was plagued with a number of problems, some of which were related to local environmental pressures, while others stemmed from structural changes taking place within the Company's trading empire that adversely affected the position of the factory. An examination of these problems in 1880 by Joseph Fortescue, chief factor, not only throws light on a number of basic issues relating to the history of the establishment, but offers glimpses into the changing nature of the fur trade after 1870.

Although strategic advantage favoured the dominance of York Factory for nearly two centuries, the local environment was not able to support the establishment and its attendant population of Europeans, mixed-bloods and Indians. The resulting strain meant that the post became increasingly costly to operate. For example, to meet its fuel requirements the York Factory settlement required 2,000 to 3,000 cords of wood annually. In addition, 6,000 to 7,000 planks were sawn for construction and maintenance purposes. This was an excessive demand on the local forestry resources, given that the post was located on the boundary between the northern boreal forest and the tundra where tree growth was very slow and mature trees relatively small. In his detailed account of the difficulties facing York Factory in 1880, Chief Factor Joseph Fortescue wrote:

> . . . the result of this continued demand has been that the immediate river banks [of the Hayes] are now entirely denuded of wood from the mouth of the Hill River 120 miles distant from the fort, and behind it the green woods are cut down to a depth of eight miles up Nelson River.
>
> Under these circumstances the difficulty of obtaining firewood is yearly increased until I was — last winter — driven twenty miles up Fox River for this winter's supply of raft wood a distance of 140 miles.

Adding to the problem were the destructive forest fires said to be common every year. Fortescue claimed that the combined effects of forest clearance and fires had largely eliminated all of the green trees within 150 miles of the factory.

While he may have somewhat exaggerated the extent of deforestation, it is clear that the costs of obtaining wood were becoming prohibitive by 1880 and further expansion of the lumbering areas impracticable. In detailing the problems of attempting to collect firewood along the Fox River, Fortescue noted:

> . . . after cutting, ten days are consumed getting to and from the place where the wood lies, and allowing for

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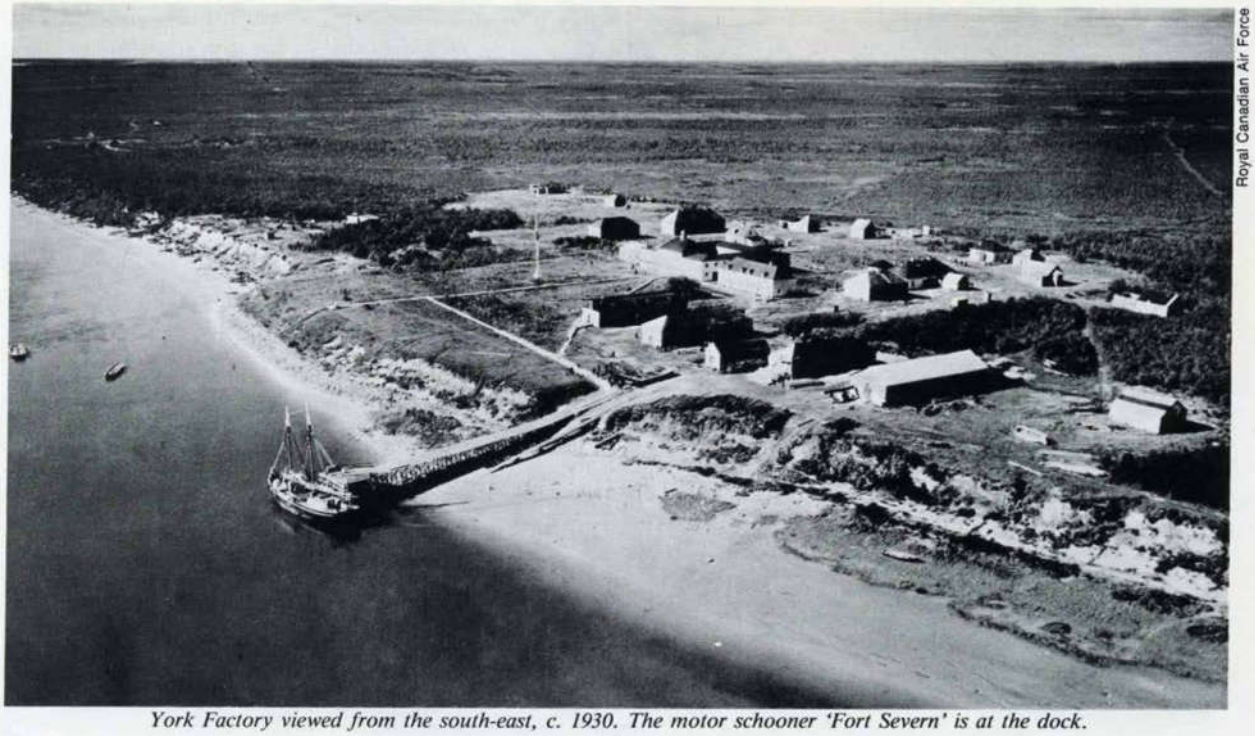
Dr Ray is with the department of history at the University of British Columbia. He is the author of 'Indians in the Fur Trade' and co-author of 'Give Us Good Measure'.

Quotations from its archives by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.



York Factory viewed from the south-east, c. 1930. The motor schooner 'Fort Severn' is at the dock.

> three trips, will take thirty days out of a spring lasting only five or six weeks at most before the summer heat dries up the river and renders rafting impossible. A strong force is therefore required, between 20 and 30 men are employed.

Once the wood was rafted to the fort, the problems were not over.

> Hayes River is a tidal one, and very often opposite the fort, the banks are nearly twenty-seven feet perpendicular above low water mark, and once down the rafts must be carried to the wood yard as speedily as possible, before a gale of wind breaks them up and scatters the wood of half a winter. All available force is employed to this purpose, even Indian women bearing a hand when men are scarce, the carrying alone is about three weeks work of some twenty or thirty hands, while the remainder are rafting . . .

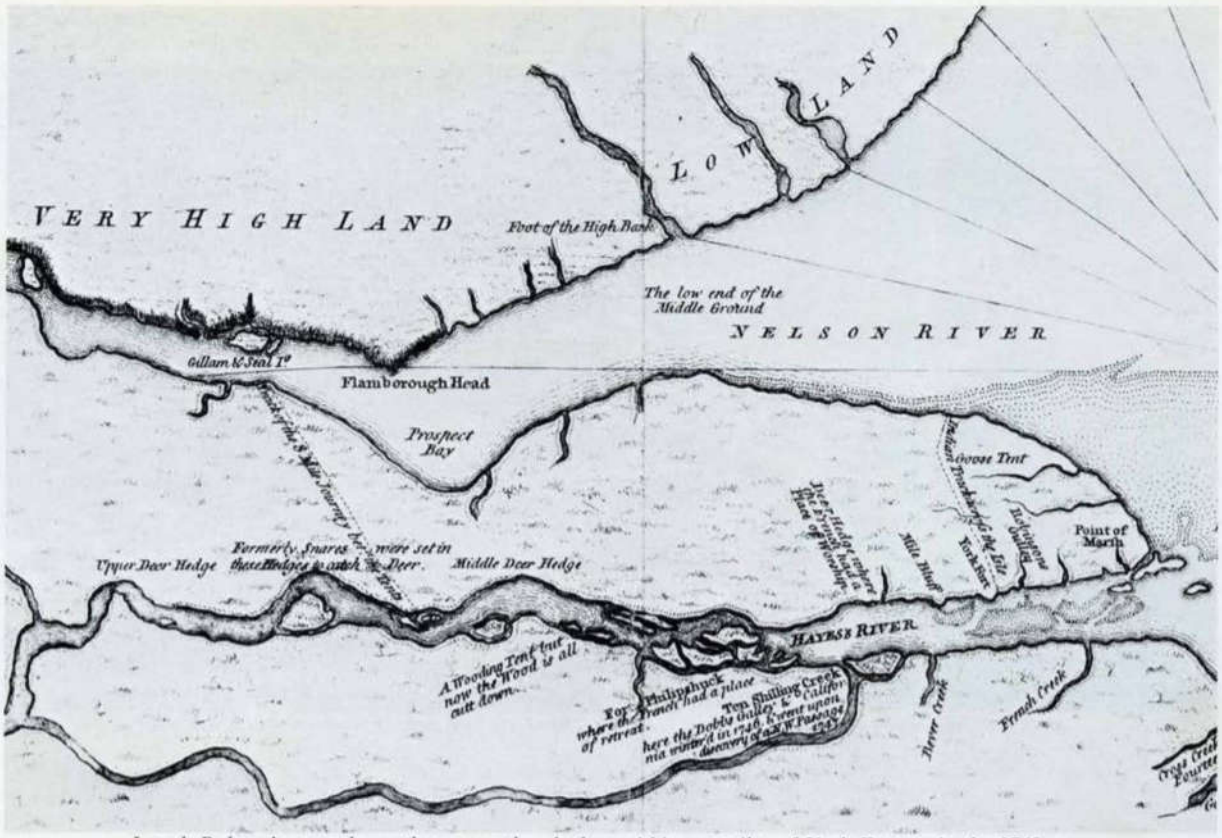
Thus, by 1880 it was taking a labour force of some forty to sixty men and women nearly two months to transport firewood from cutting sites to wood-yards. It is uncertain how many man hours were spent felling and cutting this wood.

Fortescue was not optimistic about the prospects of reducing fuel consumption at the fort unless the size of the establishment could be reduced. The factory covered eleven acres and included over twenty buildings. Many of these were said to be old and 'open', aggravating the heating problem.

> one man burns as much wood in a house as twenty but he cannot produce it. The clerk's house must be kept up under all circumstances as it contains the only cellar in the fort. York is one hundred and fifty miles within the line of constant frost; it is also built on a swamp, and fires go summer and winter here, the only place in the country where they do so. The ground is never thawed much more than a foot or eighteen inches, so a shower of rain sits. No wonder therefore an emense amount of wood is consumed...

As in the case of firewood, severe difficulties were being experienced in efforts to obtain the green wood that was required for construction and maintenance. Traditionally this wood was obtained 'back of the fort' or to the north along the shores of the Nelson River. It was hauled overland in winter using oxen which could make two or three trips each day. However, as the remarks cited above indicated, by 1880, the green-wood clearing areas had been pushed up the Nelson River a distance of eight miles. According to Fortescue this meant that the oxen teams could then only make one trip per day.

> It follows therefore that either double the number of cattle must be used (thus increasing the labour cost of hay), or only half the usual wood is obtained. The first of these alterations is impossible, we get all the hay that can be got in the time to get it. The deficiency has therefore to be made up in rafted wood and thus it has come about that double the labour is now required rafting.



Joseph Robson's map shows there were deer hedges within ten miles of York Factory in the 1740s. By 1880 the deer had ceased to inhabit the local area in winter and summer.

Thus, environmental constraints precluded increasing the number of oxen that could be supported which in turn meant that the seasonal (summer) labour demands of the factory were substantially enlarged. As the subsequent discussion will show, the post could not afford this added expense owing to changes in the Hudson's Bay Company's system of operations and accounting.

Besides the problem of declining wood resources, York Factory was experiencing the growing burden of other environmental pressures. Traditionally, a significant portion of the provision requirements of the population associated with the post was obtained from the local environment. Geese were most important and as many as 5,000 to 10,000 were annually killed by the local Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These geese were collected at the post where they were salted and stored in casks for consumption throughout the year. Besides geese, some woodland caribou and hare were also obtained. These local foodstuffs were augmented by inland country provisions, most notably pemmican, wheat and cattle from the Red River colony in the latter half of the nineteenth century, fish from lakes of the Shield uplands, and by food imported from Europe. To keep costs to a minimum, every effort was made to obtain locally as much food as was possible.

Although a considerable effort was made to maximize the use of country provisions, this objective was becoming increasingly difficult to achieve. By 1880, the local goose hunts around York Factory were said to have declined to the point that the Company had to go farther afield for its supplies. The record suggests that Fort Severn had emerged as the principal source area. Forty-five to sixty casks used to be supplied annually at four pennies for a pound or 3¼ shillings for a cask. But, even this post's hunts were uncertain. Commenting on this problem, Fortescue wrote:

> For some years passed the goose hunts have been all but entirely unproductive. Now while Severn for four years out of five has totally failed to give us any geese at all, instead the cheapest of all rations, we have been compelled per force to fall back on pemmican or pork and beef, the first five times and the latter 2½ and 3 times dearer per ration.

Fortescue was especially troubled by the need to import pemmican because the price of this commodity was increasing as the bison herds dwindled. In the mid-nineteenth century it was obtained at the rate of 3½ to 4½ pennies a pound. By 1877 it was costing York Factory 9½ to 10 pennies a pound. Furthermore the quality was increasingly poor. Forty per cent of that received in 1877-78 was said

to be inedible. Facing these problems, Fortescue looked forward to the day when pemmican would no longer be available, believing that cheaper alternative sources of food would have to be developed, thereby cutting the expense of provisioning the factory.

The situation with respect to caribou and hare was equally bleak in 1880. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century caribou were common in the area around York Factory. Joseph Robson's map shows that there were three deer hedges within ten miles of the post in the 1740s. By 1880 however, deer had ceased to inhabit the local area in winter and summer, being seen only in the spring and fall when some were said to pass reasonably close to the post. Regarding hare and ptarmigan, Fortescue observed:

> The cutting and other destruction of the woods has driven away the rabbits, never very numerous, while since 1875 no ptarmigan have been on this side of the Nelson River though plentiful enough half way to Churchill.

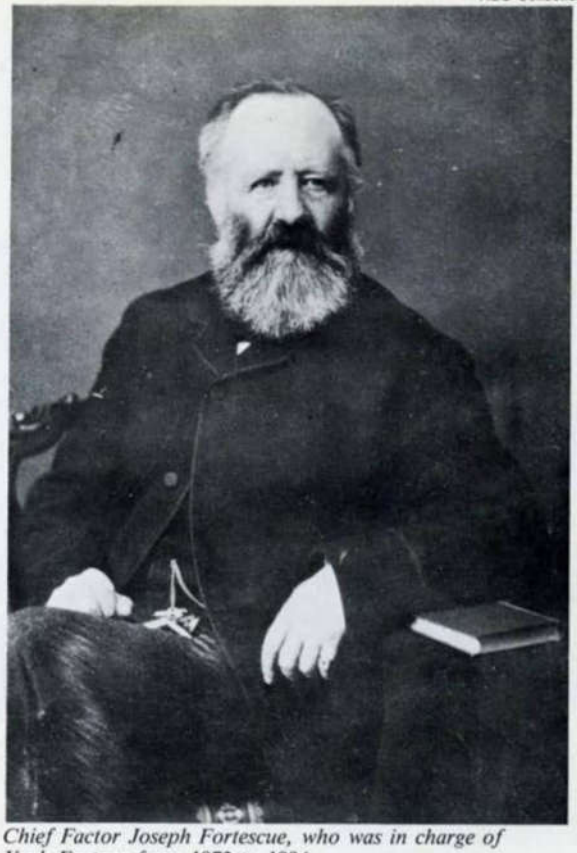
Not only had hunting pressures and local forest clearing had an adverse affect on the post's food supplies, it had also reduced local fur returns to the point that fur-trade revenues were marginal. In Fortescue's words:

> Beaver from constant trapping have been pretty well killed out of the district, and only marten, foxes remain to make up the returns no other fur even existing here in any quantity. Martens follow the rabbits, when one disappears the other goes too, and foxes are very uncertain being sometimes very numerous and at other (as this year) very scarce indeed, especially the white, which generally appear in thousands for a few weeks and then cease suddenly. There have been none here for five or six years.

Compounding these environmental problems, changes in the Hudson's Bay Company's organization of its operations had the effect of further undermining the economic viability of York Factory. In 1873, York Factory's role as headquarters and supply depot for the Northern Department officially ended, although another two years passed before all of the inland districts stopped receiving their outfits from this port. This development affected the post in a number of significant ways.

While serving as the headquarters of the Northern Department, most of the new labour recruits and retiring servants spent a part of the trading year at the factory either awaiting the arrival of the ship from England or the brigades from the interior. While at the post, usually in the summer, these men were employed cutting and collecting wood as well as making hay. According to Fortescue, an average of sixty new recruits arrived at York Factory every year and only one half of them went into the interior in the first year. Augmenting this labour pool of about thirty men per annum were the retiring servants said to number from thirty to forty a year. Of importance, the subsistence and

HBC Collection



Chief Factor Joseph Fortescue, who was in charge of York Factory from 1872 to 1884.

wage costs of this sixty to seventy-man labour force were not charged against York Factory accounts. Rather, they were assigned to the general charges (expenses) of the Northern Department as a whole. In this way, a substantial portion of the labour costs for maintenance of York Factory, particularly its soaring wood-gathering expenses, were being subsidized by other districts. This was no longer the case after 1874 and these burdensome costs were directly charged against the post's accounts.

Exacerbating the situation, York Factory also lost two of its primary sources of revenue in 1873. One of these was the 'York Sales shop'. This was the Company store where servants bought goods. According to Fortescue:

> . . . the York Sales shop had the monopoly on sales to servants, missions, trip men and freemen over nearly the whole department. The cost of supplying the sales shop being then only 33⅓ per cent on cost, and the issues mainly 50 to 100 per cent, one need not be surprized at a very handsom profit being made on its transactions...

Besides losing this lucrative monopoly (it netted the post £1,000/year), the factory no longer profited from the Company's freight-rate structure after 1873. Regarding this issue, Fortescue observed:

Geological Survey of Canada

The vegetable gardens at York Factory, from a photograph by Robert Bell, 1880. To keep costs to a minimum every effort was made to obtain locally as much food as possible, but due to the scarcity of the important game resources this became increasingly difficult by 1880.

> Under the old method of working the depot then, when the bulk of imports reached the country by this port, and the servants of the whole department passed here, a large portion of the factory expenses were saddled to the department. Thus, by distributing the cost of landing bulky goods, by imposing a fixed advance of 33⅓ per cent on all classes to cover freight, etc., the factory secured the principal portion consumed here, viz. provisions, at a comparatively low charge for freight and the rest of the depots paying more than actual cost landed, on their portion, contributed thus to the reduced expenses of the depot.

In this way, as forest clearance and over-hunting were adding to the costs of operating York Factory, its ability to underwrite and pass on these expenses was severely curtailed.

Some profits might have continued to accrue to the post from a limited boat traffic to Norway House but labour problems led Fortescue to completely terminate the York Factory brigades in 1875. In explaining why he took such action, Fortescue said of the labourers and tripmen:

> . . . they were adopting a rather impudent tone, only working when they pleased, and at what they pleased, generally striking at critical times, as when hay was wanted to be boated, or the schooner loaded [1873/4] and choosing such busy times to hold 'land meetings' and other agitations it was felt they required a sharp lesson to bring them to their senses. I therefore decided on not employing them on the river at all but doing the little general freight remaining by the Oxford brigade run to 1875.

Thus, Fortescue dealt with his labour problems by resorting to a lockout of the tripmen.

Although this action may have served to assert management's authority over the local labour force, nonetheless it was costly to the Company and adversely affected the economic position of the local Indians. Regarding this predicament Fortescue observed:

> . . . the [Indian] debts were affected, not only because they had to be increased to keep them from perishing and enable them to hunt at all — but because during the freezing period, if an Indian did not pay his fur debt, a measure no longer available when freighting ceased, such a reduction would go far to represent the increase the Indian debts have experienced since that time.

In this way the termination of summer freighting activities eliminated an important source of income for the Indians. Forty-five jobs were lost that paid between £5.10s. and £11 per summer. This affected over one-half of the local adult male Indian population. The Indians thus were forced to become more reliant on the Company for welfare. Also, they were compelled to depend more heavily on trapping activities.

There were a number of problems with the local trapping

economy however. As noted above, fur resources were already overtaxed in the immediate vicinity of the post. Disruption of the local environment due to forest clearance and fires was only part of the reason. Fortescue indicated that the York Factory 'Homeguard' Indian population had reached a low point about 1835 due to a fever. He estimated that at that time the number of male hunters would have been only 25. But in 1880, there were 66 heads of families and another 20 young men who took winter debt. Assuming that the same number of people depended on male hunters in 1880 as did in 1832, the Homeguard population would have almost trebled in 45 years increasing from approximately 90 to about 250. The population was said to be continuing to increase at the rate of ten per cent per annum. Surrounded on all sides by other districts — Oxford House, Norway House, Severn and Churchill — there was no room for territorial expansion. Indeed, Fortescue said: 'Emigration is out of the question, as there is no where to go to, Norway House and Oxford are themselves over populated, and I am under orders to discourage all movement of the Indians to the former quarter.'

The combined effects of environmental deterioration, overpopulation, and Fortescue's own management strategies meant the York Factory Homeguard faced a bleak future in 1880. As he observed:

> The York Factory Indians are consequently wretchedly poor, out of the lake country [the Shield uplands] with few or no fish, they depend mainly on the deer for subsistence and when these fail they starve and a starving Indian cannot hunt. They have no canoes as there is no birch south [north?] of Oxford but arrive on rafts on the breakup of the river, and watch their chance to leave in some of your boats, navigating the rivers..., which drop them along shores somewhere near their winter grounds to which they make their way across country as best they can. When here in summer they are dependent on us for their livelihood, as this season all fish have left the rivers and game gone north, until the month of September, brings both back again. Consequently, they feel more acutely the stoppage of all freight that was their food in summer and clothing in winter in former years.

Fortescue's attitude toward the plight of the Homeguard Indians is complex and may reflect an emerging point of view of the Company regarding the issue of native dependency and the responsibility for native welfare. As the foregoing observations show, Fortescue was clearly aware of the plight of the local Indian bands and of the adverse affects that his actions had. Yet, he exhibits little evidence of any feelings of moral responsibility. Fortescue apparently believed, and there certainly were precedents for the belief, that it was better to have the Indians in a dependency position such as was the case when they needed relief, than to have them operating from a position of economic strength. Hence, it was desirable to thwart any collective labour actions designed to provide Indians with a living wage and force them instead to rely on handouts. While there does not appear to be any official Company policy on this issue, it should be pointed out that no one voiced any opposition to this strategy.

With regard to the expenses associated with the provision of relief, Fortescue offered the opinion:

> . . . there are some expenses that ought not easily to be borne by the company at all. It is well and perhaps politic to have the same fraternal care of the Indians as formerly, but it is expensive now, and the Canadian government ought either to assume this proportion of the burden or remit . . . (duties) on those sections [of Canada] still unprovided for by treaty or otherwise. This however is a matter more properly pertaining to the heads of departments, to whom belongs the arrangement of all matters involving diplomacy with the governing authorities.

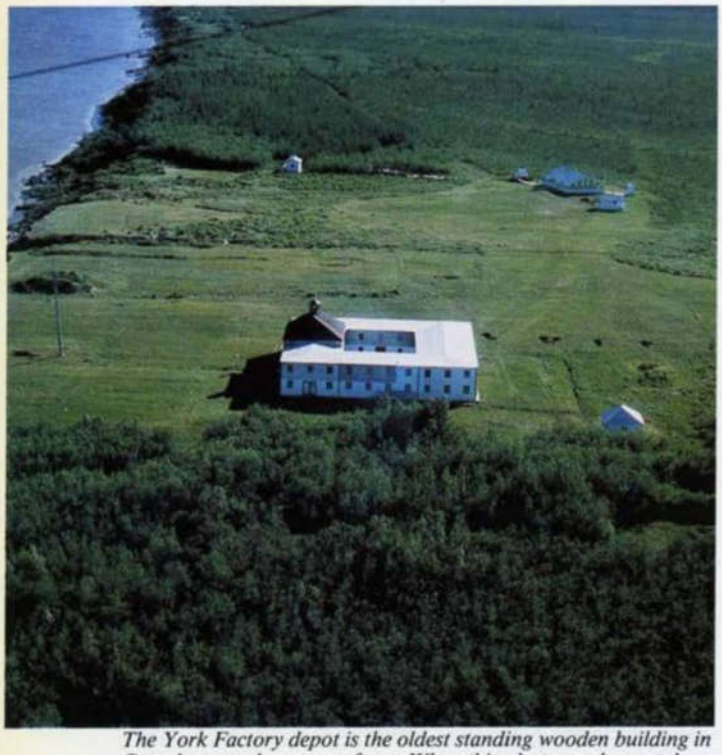
From a business perspective this suggestion made good sense. When fur volumes were high, the profit margin built into the standards of trade was such that the Company could well afford to provide welfare to the Indians. By 1880 this was no longer the case in many areas and the York Factory district was a good example. If the government could be persuaded to carry the high welfare costs of poor hunting and trapping years, the Company could at least balance its books and have the prospect of realizing a tidy profit in good years. Such a subsidy program would certainly have helped Fortescue in his efforts to make York Factory district a profitable one. However, his ideas were ahead of their time and it was to be several years before this type of government assistance was available.

In conclusion, York Factory faced a severe crisis in 1880. As the headquarters and principal depot for the Northern Department for the previous sixty years it had become the largest establishment that the Hudson's Bay Company operated in the West. But, it was located in an environment that was ill-suited for such intensive development. Consequently, it severely taxed the local environment. This had not been of paramount concern until the 1870s, because the costs resulting from environmental depletion such as forest clearance and provisioning were not borne by the factory. Instead, they were charged to the department as a whole. Similarly, the costs of supporting the local Indian population were passed on as part of the general charges of the Northern Department. The imbalance in the local ecosystem became glaringly obvious after 1870 when the Hudson's Bay Company made major changes in the way it managed its business operations. Then, even with a much-reduced scale of operation and a smaller labour force, York Factory was at best a marginal operation. Not surprisingly, it continued to decline until it was closed in 1957. Long before then, however, it had ceased to be anything more than a minor trading post. ◆

York Factory, 1982

By Arthur J. Ray

At the end of each century since its founding York Factory has faced crises. In 1782 it was sacked and burned by the Comte de Lapérouse. In 1882 it was readjusting to new economic and environmental circumstances, and in 1982, it is the heritage of the post that is threatened.



The York Factory depot is the oldest standing wooden building in Canada erected on permafrost. When this photograph was taken, it was being repainted. The small building (upper left) is the archaeologist's home; the large building (upper right) was the park superintendent's house, since destroyed by fire. Photographs are by the author.

TODAY THERE ARE FEW REMAINS that hint at the important role that York Factory once played in the development of northern and western Canada. The vast intractable wilderness along the lower Hayes River is broken only by a small clearing in which the depot and a small outbuilding stand as the sole survivors of the once large bustling establishment.

The depot is a truly remarkable building. It was built in the early nineteenth century by Company carpenters, some of whom were ship carpenters, and exhibits careful craftsmanship throughout. It is the oldest standing wooden building in Canada erected on permafrost. It has survived in its hostile environment because of the many architectural and engineering innovations that were employed during construction. Among these were a series of drainage ditches that were dug under the building to carry off surface water and prevent the melting of the permafrost. Also, supporting columns and beams were joined in ways that made it possible to make adjustments to allow for the settling and heaving of the building.

The walls and floors of the depot give many clues about its past history. A window sill on the ground floor reveals that a scale was once located near by and one day Mr Christie, Mr Hargrave, Mr Simpson, Mr Rod McKenzie and several others weighed themselves and wrote the results on the wall. Another wall is covered with Company and post bale marks and brands suggesting perhaps an area where packing had once been done. The walls of some rooms show where shelves once held goods and supplies. Others reveal rooms that had been used for trading in later years. One is decorated with a curious three-legged horse.

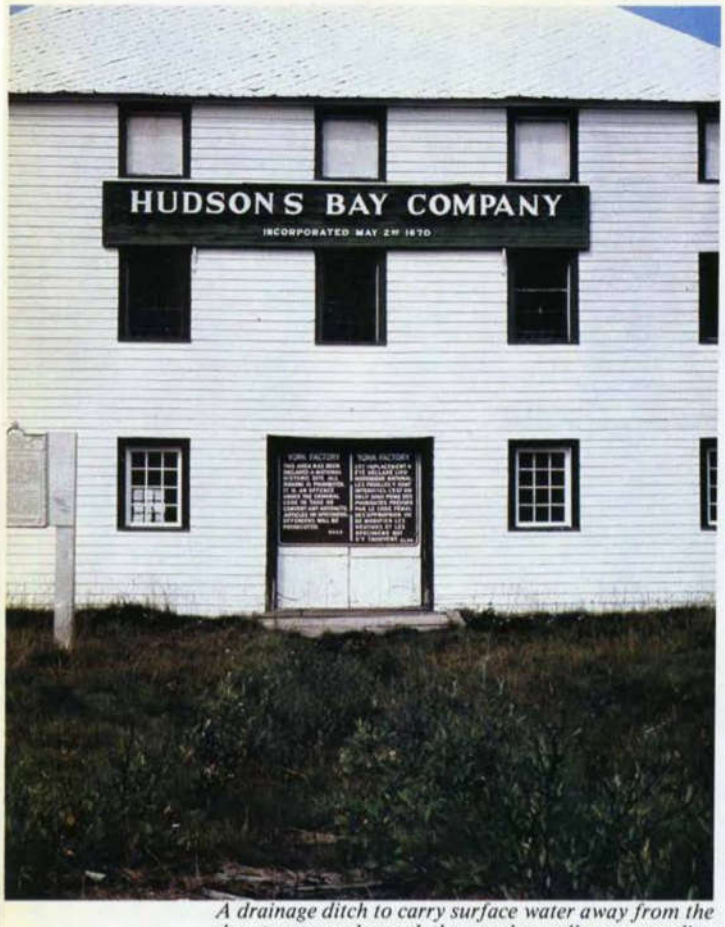
Besides being a priceless architectural heritage, the York Factory area is a bonanza for archaeologists. Surface collecting alone has yielded an impressive array of materials and excavations beneath the floors of the building by Parks Canada reveal the remains of earlier structures, perhaps the older octagonal fort. Beyond the walls of the depot, salvage and survey archaeology has shown that much could be learned by a careful systematic archaeological sampling of the area. Work in the summer of 1981 by Parks Canada crews unveiled the former camping area for visiting Indians and the hearth the Company had built for them to reduce the hazards of accidental fires.

The remains of the old settlement and other historical occupations are found beyond the present National

An old hearth built by the Hudson's Bay Company for visiting Indians, to reduce the hazard of accidental fires in the camping area.

A 'three-legged' horse.

Beam and support column inside the depot. By moving the wedge on the lower left, the beams could be adjusted to some extent to allow for settling and heaving.



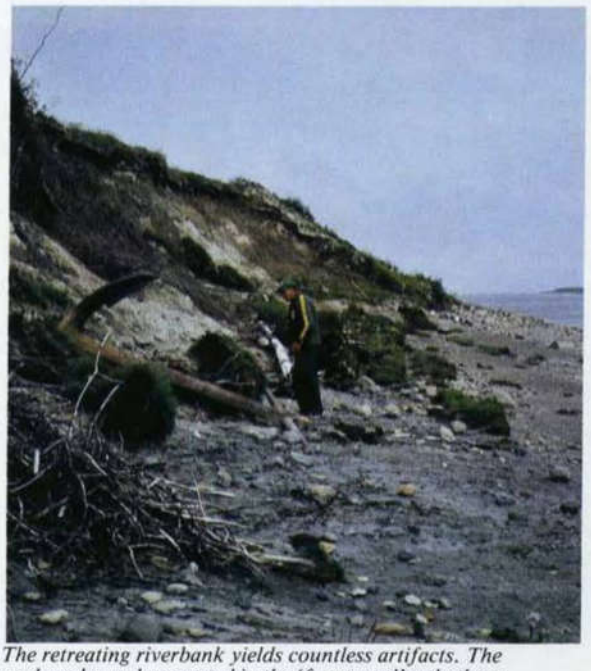
A drainage ditch to carry surface water away from the depot once ran beneath the wooden walkway extending from the front door. Earth now chokes the ditch beneath the rotting walk.

Historic Park boundaries. Just to the north-east is the old graveyard, the crumbling powder magazine, and an old slipway. Across the Hayes River and slightly upstream from the factory is Ten Shilling Creek, a sheltered, heavily wooded area where Company critic Arthur Dobbs wintered in 1746. An Indian encampment was once located here also. A mile upstream, also situated on the south-east bank of the Hayes, is the site of another former native community once occupied by the Indians of York Landing, Manitoba. A small trapper's cabin is located near by and is still used seasonally by the Redhead family from Shamattawa, Manitoba.

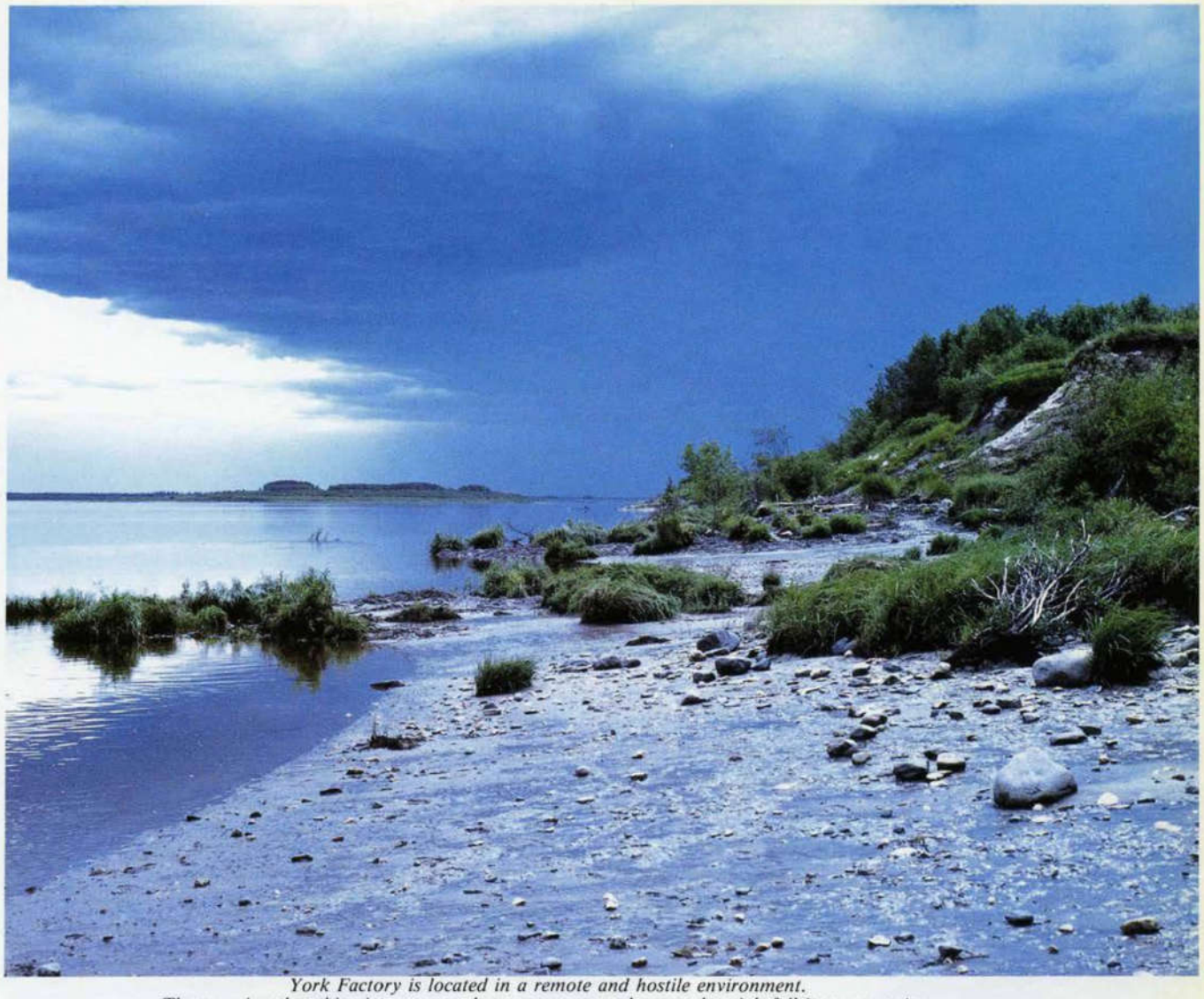
Visiting the York Factory area one senses history strongly. And, the challenge of preserving its rich heritage is immediately apparent. Extreme isolation has been both a friend and foe. The remoteness of the area has minimized, although not eliminated, the problems of vandalism and theft. It has also meant, however, that it is extremely costly to undertake any archaeological or heritage conservation work. Furthermore, given the low tourist accessibility of the region, there is the temptation to spend the needed funds elsewhere on higher profile projects.

The problem, however, is that York Factory is located in a very hostile environment. On a single summer's day it is possible to experience the weather of the four seasons as the winds shift from the south-west to the north-east usually accompanied by violent thunderstorms with their high winds and menacing lightning. The latter means the threat of fire is always present. The river which was York Factory's life-blood, is now relentlessly destroying the site.

Shelf marks on an interior wall surround an opening that may have been a trading wicket. The floor is rotting away here, and in other parts of the lower storey.



The retreating riverbank yields countless artifacts. The anchor shown here rested in the 'front yard' only three years ago.



York Factory is located in a remote and hostile environment.
The morning that this picture was taken was sunny and warm; by nightfall it was snowing.

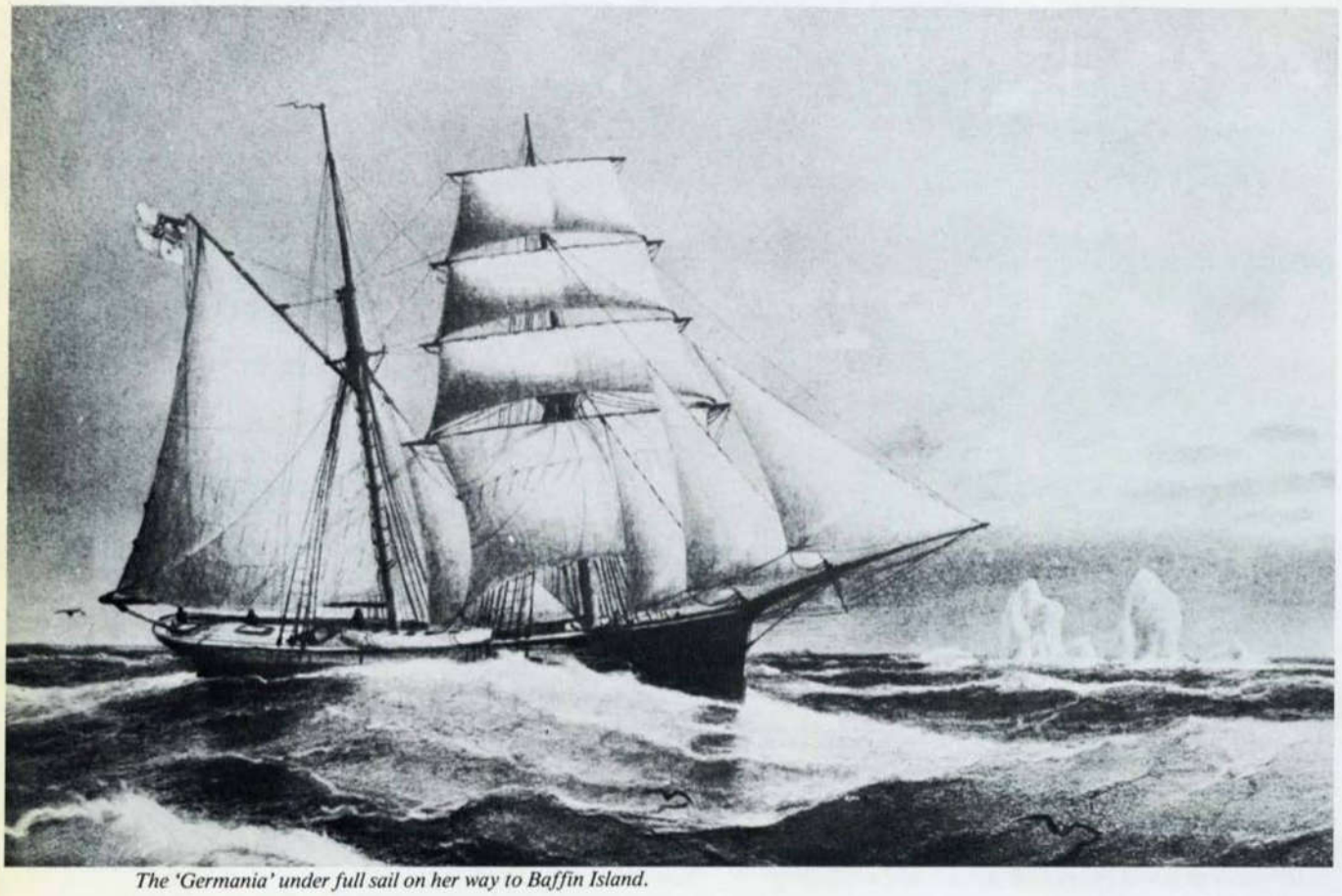
As the banks recede, countless artifacts and structures tumble down the unstable slopes to eventually be washed away into Hudson Bay. Parks Canada's five-year salvage archaeology program ended this summer and was barely able to keep up with the most threatened parts of the shoreline. In the near future, it appears as though the elements will claim the rest of this heritage.

Besides telling its history, the walls and floors of the depot also foretell its coming death. The drainage ditches that once carried water away from the building under the front walkway are now choked and water accumulates beneath the building in the summertime. Partly as a result, the floors are rotting in many sections of the lower storey and the lower courses of timbers upon which the building rests are tumbling away. Although the building has been painted in the past few years and other maintenance has been done, it is clear that the costly work needed to retard the structural deterioration has not been undertaken. It is also unlikely that the appropriations needed for this work will be forthcoming under present economic circumstances.

This summer marked the 300th anniversary of the founding of the first York Factory. At the end of each century the post has faced crises. In 1782 it was sacked and burned by the Comte de Lapérouse. In 1882 it was experiencing the trauma of readjusting to new economic and environmental circumstances as the letters of Fortescue so amply documented (page 28). In 1982 it is the heritage of the post that is threatened. Unless an aroused (and interested) public makes a concerted effort to make sure that appropriate actions are taken to save the architectural and archaeological heritage, too little will be done too late. I am not optimistic. I have a sinking feeling that the post is in its twilight years. ◆

The German Expedition at Clearwater Fiord 1882-83

By William Barr and Chuck Tolley



The 'Germania' under full sail on her way to Baffin Island.

Professor Barr is with the Department of Geography, University of Saskatchewan, in Saskatoon. Chuck Tolley is principal, Attagoyuk School, Pangnirtung, N.W.T. Colour photographs are by Mr Tolley.

A hundred years ago, German scientists were taking hourly meteorological and magnetic readings at Clearwater Fiord, Baffin Island. Their contribution to the first International Polar Year was an unbroken record of observations over a period of 359 days.

THIS YEAR IS THE CENTENNIAL of the First International Polar Year (1882-83) marking the transition from purely geographical exploration of the polar regions to a phase in which scientific research became dominant. Mention of this milestone in polar research tends to bring to mind recollections of the American expedition under Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greely to Fort Conger on Lady Franklin Bay, Ellesmere Island; of Lieutenant Lockwood's highest north record of 83° 24′ N, and of the retreat south by boat via Kane Basin to the dismal starvation camp at Camp Clay near Cape Sabine where seven emaciated survivors were rescued by the crew of the relief ship *Bear* on 22 June 1884.

In North America these events have tended to overshadow the full ambitious scope of the International Year, which involved a total of 12 scientific expeditions manned by scientists from ten participating countries: the Austrians on Jan Mayen; the British at Fort Rae; the Danes at Godthaab; the Finns at Sodankylä; the French at Cape Horn; the Germans at Clearwater Fiord, Baffin Island, and on South Georgia in the Antarctic; the Norwegians at Bosskop in North Norway; the Russians on Ostrov Sagastyr in the Lena delta and at Malyye Karmakuly on Novaya Zemlya; the Swedes at Mossebugten in Svalbard and the Americans at Point Barrow and at Lady Franklin Bay.

Of these various expeditions one which has, in particular, tended to be overshadowed by the Greely expedition, but which is of interest to Canadians, was the German expedition to Clearwater Fiord on Baffin Island.

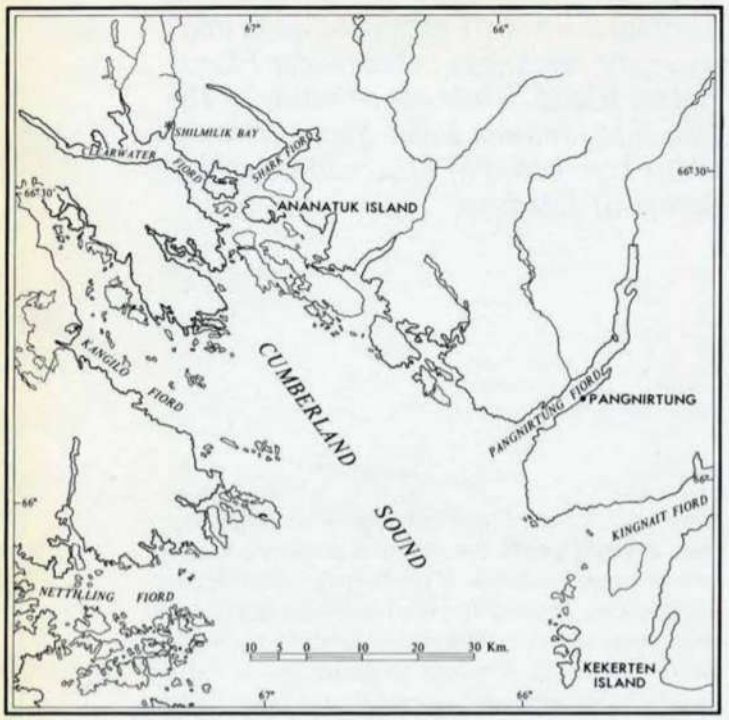
The concept of the First International Polar Year was the brain-child of Lieutenant Karl Weyprecht of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, and was a direct consequence of his experiences as a member of the Austro-Hungarian expedition to Franz Josef Land, north of Russia, in 1872-74 on board *Tegetthoff*. It appeared to him that significant advances in arctic meteorology and in terrestrial magnetism, two areas of particular concern to him, could only be achieved by a full year's programme of synchronous observations from the widest possible network of stations in both polar regions.

Weyprecht first aired these views at a meeting of the Austro-Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Vienna in January 1875 and again at the meeting of the Association of German Naturalists and Physicists at Gratz in September of that year. From the first the concept received the complete support of Weyprecht's sponsor on the *Tegetthoff* expedition, Graf Hans Wilczek. By the spring of 1877, with the latter's co-operation, Weyprecht had prepared detailed plans of the type of programme he had in mind, and presented them to the International Meteorological Congress in the spring of 1879. The International Meteorological Congress strongly endorsed Weyprecht's plan and convened an International Polar Conference which met in Hamburg 1 October 1879. This conference, attended by nine delegates from eight countries, elected Dr G.B. Neumayer as president, a strong indication of the interest of the German scientific community. One proviso for the implementation of the programme was that a minimum of eight stations in the Arctic would be required to guarantee scientific success. Subsequent conferences followed at Bern in July 1880 and at St Petersburg in August 1881, by which time the general outline of the International Polar Year had been agreed upon and its implementation set for 1882-83.

Even at this late date, however, Germany's participation was far from guaranteed and no German stations are included in the list of 'certainties' released by the St Petersburg conference. This was not for lack of effort on the part of Dr Neumayer; thus, for example, in June 1881 he had presented a paper to the German Geographical Society in Berlin on the significance of magnetic research, the need for systematic polar research and the need for Germany to participate fully in the International Polar Year. Finally, in late November 1881 the German government decided to participate and appointed Dr Neumayer to take charge of Germany's contributions to the programme. Since the International Polar Conference had stipulated that the programme of observations at all stations of the International Polar Year must begin on 1 August 1882, there was little time to lose.

A German Polar Commission under Dr Neumayer's chairmanship met in mid-December 1881. Among its first decisions were that Germany should mount two major expeditions: to Baffin Island and South Georgia, and a supplementary one to the Labrador coast.

It was initially suggested that in view of the large number of arctic stations to which other countries were already committed, Germany should perhaps locate both her stations in the southern hemisphere. However the logistic difficulties of placing a station in the High Antarctic decided the issue. The choice of site within the northern hemisphere was narrowed by considerations



Shilmilik Bay

such as a desire to locate one station as close as possible to the North Magnetic Pole (bearing in mind that the American station at Lady Franklin Bay and the British station at Fort Rae were the closest thus far), a desire to achieve as complete a circumpolar circle of stations as possible and, naturally, by logistic considerations. At first there were fears that Cumberland Sound might prove unsuitable due to ice conditions; but on the basis of information solicited from the British Admiralty it was decided that, from the past experience of the whalers, the chances of gaining access to Clearwater Fiord were sufficiently good in most years that occupation of a site on that fiord, practically on the Arctic Circle, was feasible.

The selection of the expedition personnel was obviously a matter of great urgency, and was tackled as a priority item. The composition of the Baffin Island party, as summoned to Hamburg in early April 1882 to participate in final preparations, was as follows: leader was Dr W. Giese; deputy leader and astronomer was Dr Leopold Ambronn of the Chronometric Institute of the German Naval Observatory; medical officer and botanist was Dr W. Schliephake from Würzburg; K. Boecklen from Esslingen was appointed expedition engineer and draughtsman; mathematician and physicist H. Abbes from Bremen joined the expedition as an assistant although he would make some extremely useful ethnographic contributions; expedition mechanic was H. Seemann from Hamburg; and finally, in terms of the scientific and technical personnel, Dr Ludwig Rösch from Oettingen was appointed meteorologist. The support staff consisted of six men.

The ship selected for transporting the expedition to Clearwater Fiord was *Germania*. Built in Bremerhaven in 1869 for the Second German Polar Expedition to East Greenland under Captain Karl Koldewey, she was a wooden sailing vessel, sheathed in iron, 90 feet long, beam 22½ feet and of 143 registered tonnes. Originally she had been equipped with a steam engine but this had been removed. In the view of her master, Captain Mahlstede, the lack of an engine was not a matter of great consequence; this optimism would turn out to be misplaced in terms of the conditions the ship was to encounter in both her attempts to reach Clearwater Fiord.

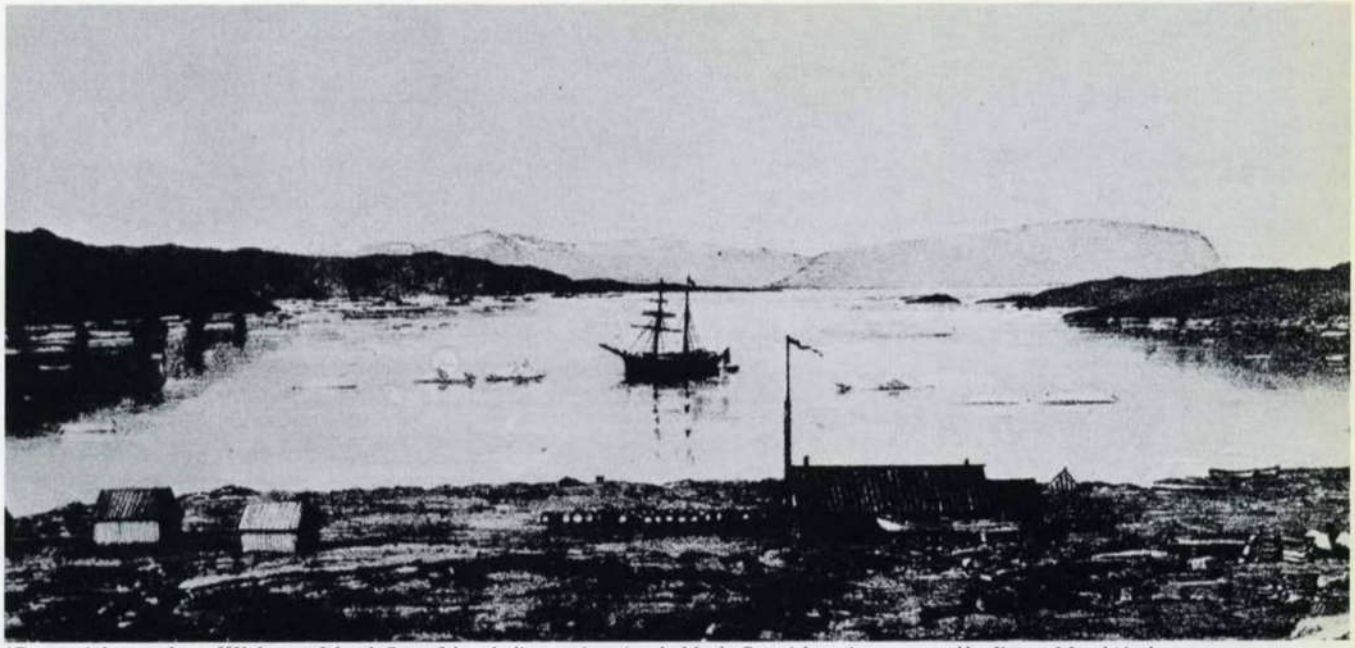
Loading began in Hamburg harbour in early June 1882 and proceeded steadily. But then an accident occurred which must have cast a shadow over the entire enterprise. Dr Rösch, the meteorologist, slipped and fell on board the ship, and died from his injuries on 23 June. Within days A. Mühleisen from Esslingen was appointed to replace him, with special responsibilities as ship's navigator on the voyage to Baffin Island.

By this stage the ship was fully loaded; the space left for the expedition personnel was considerably less than generous. Bulky items such as the prefabricated units of the various huts had to be stowed on deck, so there was little space on deck for the expedition members to exercise or for the crew to work the ship. There must have been some concern expressed that the ship might be overloaded since one of the last events prior to her sailing was an inspection of the deeply laden vessel by a three-man party of experts, among them Captain Koldewey. They were satisfied as to the ship's seaworthiness.

Germania finally put to sea from Hamburg on the morning of 27 June 1882. Passing well south of Kap Farvel, on 27 July she encountered her first ice towards the west side of Davis Strait. A prior warning had been given by a sharp drop in the water temperature from about 7.2 °to 3.8 °C. After the ship had been sailing for several days through loose ice, on 1 August Cape Mercy at the south-east tip of the Cumberland Peninsula was sighted. To the west of it, however, a solid barrier of ice blocked the entrance to Cumberland Sound; the west coast of the sound in the vicinity of Cape Edwards and Harrison Point loomed as a low, grey strip on the horizon.

The next two weeks tried the patience of everyone on board. With prolonged calms or, at best, with fickle breezes, Captain Mahlstede took advantage of every possible sign of weakness in the ice, but the barrier remained closely packed. Several attempts at pushing through the ice ended in back-breaking hours of towing with the boats to get the ship back to safety as the floes closed ranks again under the influence of the tides.

On 13 August, with the provisions assigned for the voyage running low, and the official starting date for the



'Germania', at anchor off Kekerton Island. One of the whaling stations (probably the Scottish station managed by Jimmy Mutch) is shown in the foreground.

observing programme of the International Polar Year already past, there was serious discussion on board about abandoning Cumberland Sound and heading for Upernavik instead, an eventuality covered by the expedition's instructions. But on the 14th the ice began to loosen and *Germania* was able to make steady progress into Cumberland Sound. As the day progressed, in warm, sunny weather a wide lane of water opened under the influence of a fresh north-easterly wind. On the last lap, up the length of Cumberland Sound, progress was still not entirely smooth, however; long periods of calm, and still significant amounts of ice had to be tackled. Ultimately, *Germania* dropped anchor off Kekerten on 17 August.

Captain Mahlstede, Dr Giese, Dr Mühleisen and Dr Seemann, along with a boat's crew, set off for the two whaling stations on the island, one Scottish and one American, which lay some eight to nine kilometres away. Dr Giese was armed with a letter of introduction from the whaling company of Noble in Dundee to their station manager Jimmy Mutch and his assistant Sandy Hall. Captain Mahlstede knew the Scots from previous visits and the party was given a warm welcome. While Ambronn and Seemann climbed to a high point on the island to take observations to determine its position, Captain Mahlstede and Dr Giese began negotiations with the Scots, first on the matter of the best location for their station and second on the possibility of the whalers providing a pilot to the selected site and boats to help with unloading.

The first point was easily settled; Hall and Mutch agreed with Noble's suggestion, apparently approved by the committee that a site on Kingua (Clearwater) Fiord would be most suitable. But on the matter of a pilot and boats the discussions were much more protracted. Initially the Scots were extremely reluctant to lend any of their five boats in case they were damaged, or to let any of their men accompany *Germania*. But after three hours of negotiation they conceded the loan of two boats and the services of Sandy Hall and two Inuit as pilots. Part of the agreement was that the expedition would be responsible for maintaining the families of the two Inuit while the latter were employed by the Germans.

Next morning (18 August) *Germania* reached the entrance to Clearwater Fiord but at noon, on the ebb tide, it fell calm, and since the tide runs out through the narrows at a speed of some seven knots there was no point in trying to tow the ship into the fiord until the tide had turned. Captain Mahlstede anchored while Sandy Hall took several of the scientists ashore on a hunting trip. On the morning of the 19th with a fresh breeze the captain tackled the narrows again but at the critical moment *Germania* ran into a dense fog bank and in view of the confined waters and unknown soundings, the captain was again forced to retreat. By the afternoon it had cleared but by then it had fallen calm; two boats were manned and began towing the ship in through the narrows. But with the turn of the tide the ship was seized by the powerful ebb current and despite the oarsmen's best efforts they found themselves being dragged astern as *Germania* was swept out through the narrows once again, completely out of control. One anchor was dropped but did not hold; a second anchor was paid out but it too could be heard scraping and grinding across the rocks. At this point all on board must have wished that *Germania*'s engine had

The German station at Shilmilik Bay, seen from the south.

not been removed. Finally, with practically every inch of chain out and with *Germania* within only a few feet of the sheer rocks near the entrance of the narrows, the anchors finally held. Later a third anchor was led out to the opposite shore of the narrows and in this precarious position, within a boat-hook's length of the rocks, she remained for the night: a night which Dr Giese later recalled as the most unpleasant night of the whole expedition.

Next day it was raining, overcast and foggy; it was also Sunday and hence it was decided to remain at anchor in the same spot. Several parties went ashore on the neighbouring rocky islands, some to stretch their legs, others to study the botany and geology, others to hunt seals.

Next morning all hands were called to haul in the sixty to seventy fathoms of chain and the two anchors which had been paid out. This time with a favourable wind and on the flood-tide the passage of the narrows was made without incident. Mr Hall had suggested two possible sites for the station on the shores of Clearwater Fiord, one of these being Shilmilik Bay which *Germania* reached first, around 10:30 a.m. Dr Giese, Mühleisen, Ambronn and the mate went ashore to inspect the site.

They found a flat-bottomed valley about two kilometres wide and bounded by steep, rocky hills some 200-300 metres high, running down to the fiord from the north. The valley was drained by a fair-sized river, which debouched into the head of Shilmilik Bay, forming an excellent anchorage on the north side of the fiord. Above the tidal flats on the west side of the river mouth an extensive sandy terrace about three metres above sea-level and covered with grass and lichen stretched back to the steep cliffs of the valley wall. It was decided that this would make a near-perfect site for the station. The only drawback which could be envisaged was that the north-south alignment of this deeply incised valley would probably result in a distorted picture of the pattern of regional wind direction.

Unloading of *Germania's* cargo began immediately. For this purpose the two largest boats were lashed together and the deck cargo, consisting of the largest beams and members of the various huts, was loaded onto the resultant raft. The boats were then towed and poled ashore. For the next few days the boats plied to and fro constantly while the 'longshoremen' tackled the laborious task of hauling the building materials, equipment and provisions, up the steep bank to where the

The site of the German station, August 1979, from the same viewpoint as the drawing opposite. The ruins of the astronomical observatory are visible in the background (right).

foundations for the buildings were quickly prepared.

Erection of the buildings proceeded simultaneously with unloading. The main building was 13.4 metres long by 8.5 metres wide, aligned with its long axis east-west. The foundation consisted of five longitudinal sills on which 15 cross members were placed. Hence, although there would probably have been little problem from thermokarst subsidence in that the station was built on sand and gravel, by the provision of a good airspace beneath the building the design eliminated any possibility of disruption of the thermal regime of the permafrost. The floor consisted of three layers of boards with a double layer of crumbled peat insulation between. The walls, 2.3 metres high, consisted of panels of the same construction, as were the ceilings. The roof, with a relatively low slope, rose to a ridge 3.8 metres above the floor, and was covered with tar paper. The outside walls were braced with diagonal struts fastened to the projecting ends of the foundation beams. At each end of the building a mast rose above roof level; the one at the north end was the flag-pole, while the southern one carried a wind vane and anemometer.

The interior was divided into two equal parts by a corridor transverse to the long axis. Doors at either end of this corridor provided the only access. To the right (east) of the corridor were the men's living quarters, which also served as the kitchen, with a small workshop behind. To the left (the west end) was the scientists' living-room with the store-room behind. Leading off the living-room was Dr Giese's room and along the south side of it, three small cabins, each with a window and a tier of three bunks, which housed the scientists.

The hut designed for observing the variation in earth magnetism, located just to the west of the main hut, was of the same construction. The instruments for observing magnetic variation were set up on a series of distinctive octagonal concrete pillars, cemented to solid, square concrete blocks sunk into the ground, all of these having been brought from Germany. The building designed for the absolute magnetic measurements located behind (north of) the main hut, was octagonal in plan, 2.75 metres in diameter and built entirely without any iron components. Bolts, brackets and nails were made of brass, copper or wood. Here too the instruments were established on a series of pillars and blocks. The building for the astronomical observations had, unfortunately, been left behind in Hamburg, and was replaced by a fairly rough, but functional, stone hut. The astronomical survey telescope was set up on top of a square pillar built from hollow concrete blocks, the bottom one of which was embedded solidly in the ground.

Soon after *Germania*'s arrival several families of Inuit arrived. The first on the scene were two men in kayaks who brought a seal to trade. Sandy Hall made quite an impact on the German scientists by eating the brains raw and sucking out the eyes with obvious relish. Even when the cook fried some seal steaks few of the Germans found them palatable.

Subsequently several families appeared, travelling by whale-boat, and within a few days a small village of tents had sprung up on the east side of the river mouth. In return for one pound of bread, some coffee, a little syrup and a small plug of tobacco per man per day, varying numbers of Inuit men assisted with unloading the cargo and erecting the buildings. Although Giese found their performance variable, stressing that constant supervision was necessary, Abbes emphasized that they worked steadily, and quickly grasped the idea of fitting together the numbered components of the buildings.

In describing the interaction of the Germans with the Inuit, especially the women, Abbes reveals himself as a sensitive observer, capable of relating a story at his own expense. Thus he reports that when he spoke to one of the women in a loud and possibly rough tone she repeated his words several times in a gentler voice (presumably in English) and added, laughing: 'So you speak to ladies.'

By 28 August with the help of the Inuit work force the roof was on the main hut and the carpenter slept ashore in it to be able to get an early start on the interior fittings in the morning. During the next few days the interior was painted, the roof tarred, the galley stove and the stove in the workshop set up, and the carpenter was able to turn his attention to the assembly and erection of the magnetic-variation hut.

The building programme was so far advanced by 4 September that the expedition members were able to leave the ship and occupy their quarters ashore; it was a welcome relief after seventy days in the cramped shipboard quarters. Captain Mahlstede and his crew spent the next couple of days ballasting the ship; then on 7 September *Germania* weighed anchor and sailed for home. Sandy Hall and the Inuit left with her, with the exception of Okkeituk and his family, who had been hired to work for the expedition.

For at least the next week there was no relaxation in the work tempo. The first twice-monthly day of intensive magnetic observations was due on 15 September and everything had to be ready by then. The final touches had to be put to the main hut, especially the interior fittings. Then the various instruments were set up in their different observatories. All three of the observatory buildings were linked to the main hut by electric cables.

The backbone of the programme consisted of an hourly schedule of meteorological and magnetic readings — the former consisting of observations on atmospheric pressure, temperature, humidity, wind speed and direction, cloud type and amount, precipitation and any additional noteworthy meteorological phenomena. The hourly magnetic observations included horizontal intensity, declination and vertical intensity. To achieve this schedule, each day was divided into five shifts, some of four and others of six hours. Since there were only seven scientists this meant that on any one day only two of them were not involved in this observing programme. On the 1st and 15th of each month, however, the magnetic variation instruments had to be read every five minutes for 23 hours and every 20 seconds for the final hour. On these days all seven scientists were involved, working in three-hour shifts. The programmes of astronomical and absolute magnetic observations were handled exclusively by Dr Ambronn and Dr Abbes in addition to their other duties. From the expedition accounts one gains the impression of a tightly run operation, adhering to a demanding schedule, with little time left over for 'irrelevant' activities such as hunting or exploring.

In view of the fact that the north-south alignment of the rather deep, narrow valley produced a distorted picture of local wind directions, in November it was decided to establish a satellite weather station on top of the rocky hills, 220 metres above sea-level, immediately west of the station. A flagstaff was erected on the hilltop from which a long pennant was flown; it was visible from the station and with a telescope the wind direction could be determined. A screen containing barometer, thermometer and hygrometer was fastened to the base of the flagstaff. These were read daily at 10:00 a.m., this duty devolving on one of the off-duty scientists.

Okkeituk, who had stayed to work for the expedition and to act as interpreter in conversations with Inuit visitors, had a young wife (his second) and an 18-month-old daughter. His duties included hauling snow, and later blocks of river ice, on his dog sledge for the station's water supply. His 'wages' consisted of five pounds of ship's biscuit, a small amount of tea, a cup of syrup and some tobacco every week. He was also given a Mauser rifle and shells when the expedition departed.

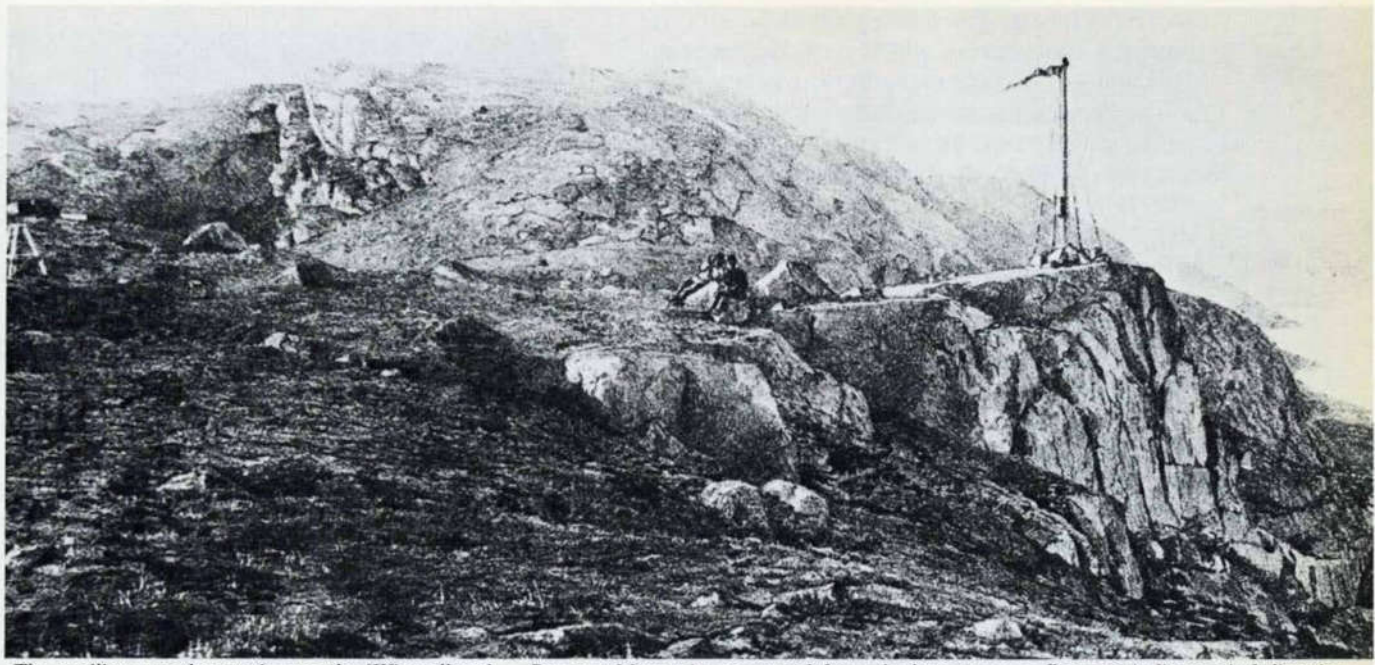
Initially Okkeituk set up his caribou-skin tent about 200 metres south of the station, near the shore. On 25 November, after sufficient snow had fallen, he added a domed porch built of snow blocks. Later in the winter the family moved into a snow-house. The expedition also made use of Okkeituk's talents in the area of snow architecture: once the weather became severe a passageway of snow blocks was built between the dwelling hut and the magnetic-variation hut to the west.

On 5 December the first Inuit visitors of the winter arrived: Okkeituk's father-in-law and two other men, who were camped at Ananatuk, an island near the mouth of Clearwater Fiord where the strong tidal currents resulted in an open water area all winter, and where, consequently, the seal hunting was good. They were travelling with one sledge and a team of twelve dogs. The oldest of the men, Abbok, had worked for the whalers and had visited New York. On the 22nd another group of Inuit arrived to trade sealskins and caribou skins for tobacco.

Although, no doubt, the schedule of observations was maintained rigidly throughout the Christmas season, there was some time for celebration. A large chest of gifts from the families of the expedition members had been brought along, without their knowledge, and gave an enormous amount of pleasure. Christmas dinner consisted of a caribou roast provided by one of the visiting Inuit.

Soon after Christmas, Okkeituk's young daughter fell ill and despite the best efforts of Dr Schleiphake her strength gradually ebbed and she died on 5 January 1883. Quite a large number of Inuit came to visit during her illness including, on 29 December, two 'angakoks' or shamans, from Kekerten. The expedition members could hear them chanting inside the tent but were not permitted to observe the ritual.

The day prior to the girl's death Okkeituk's father-in-



The auxiliary weather station on the 'Wimpelberg' — Pennant Mountain, so named from the long pennant flown to indicate wind direction.

law built a new snow-house a few paces from the tent, which, along with its contents, the family abandoned after the death. Immediately after the death, Okkeituk and his wife left for Ananatuk along with the rest of the Inuit, to replace the tools, weapons and equipment abandoned in the old tent.

Although the station was located almost precisely on the Arctic Circle, the surrounding hills meant that the sunless period was longer than might be expected at that latitude. The sun disappeared on 30 November and did not reappear until 14 January 1883. Although the temperatures were low (monthly mean for January −30.8 °C, and an extreme low on 8 January of −40.7 °C) the air was calm and outside work was quite bearable. This period of fine weather was used to lay out a wide loop of cable on the ice of the fiord for determining the vertical intensity of earth magnetism. Ice movements and ridging caused breaks in the cable from time to time, necessitating repairs. The main problem connected with the maintenance of the cable, however, arose when several of the scientists became snow-blind due to the sun's glare off the snow.

Overall, February was the coldest month, with a mean of −36.2 °C, but the absolute minimum temperature of the winter, −49.4 ° C, was recorded on 2 March. Nonetheless by March the sun was starting to make itself felt. The rocks began to emerge from the snow on south-facing slopes and in mid-March Okkeituk's igloo [which he and his wife had reoccupied on their return from Ananatuk, along with a young girl called Avingak] began to melt away from the outside and had to be abandoned at the end of the month. There was however still sufficient snow for him to build a new igloo.

On 28 April Okkeituk went off hunting for the first time, to the north-west end of Clearwater Fiord. Spotting two large caribou, he stalked and killed them both. He was using the Mauser which would become his property once the expedition departed and was particularly pleased with its performance, since with his old muzzle-loader the second animal would have been long gone by the time he had reloaded. He gave the four hindquarters to the expedition and since this was the first fresh meat on the menu for quite a long time, it was sincerely appreciated.

Dr Giese decided to take advantage of the fine spring weather, while the sledging on the sea-ice was still good, to mount two limited exploration trips. The first party, consisting of Dr Ambronn, the engineer Boeklen, the sailmaker Hevicke, and Okkeituk, set off shortly before 7:00 a.m. on 4 May bound for the head of Clearwater Fiord. As they started off, the sledge was pulled by Okkeituk's seven dogs, but in a very short time it was realized that the sledge was too heavy for them. Okkeituk returned to camp, borrowed a further seven dogs from a friend who was visiting, and with these seven reinforcements the expedition got under way again. Although Okkeituk had taken the precaution of reducing the dogs' mobility by sticking one forepaw through the chest strap of each dog's harness, that night three of the dogs chewed through their lines and trotted back to base camp on three legs. Okkeituk had to go back to retrieve them next morning.

After this false start the little expedition was away for about ten days during which time Dr Ambronn thoroughly surveyed Clearwater Fiord to its head. Since most of the snow had now melted from the tundra, inhibiting sledge travel, he was unable to continue his survey up the valley of the river debouching into the head of the fiord.

The second small expedition, also aimed at basic survey, headed down the fiord to its mouth. The party consisted of Dr Giese, mechanic Seemann, carpenter Weise, and Okkeituk. They left on 14 May and were gone for two weeks. Since the snow on the sea-ice was now unpleasantly soft during most of the day, much of the travelling was done at night, when the crust froze hard again. Apart from surveying the fiord and its surroundings Dr Giese also made magnetic observations, determining the magnetic intensity, declination and inclination at times pre-arranged to synchronize with the same measurements being made at the station for comparative purposes.

From May onwards visits by the Inuit camped at Ananatuk became more frequent; they regularly brought caribou meat to trade and in early June some 30 large salmon (char?) and 20 dozen duck eggs. Much of the fish was smoked in a smokehouse designed by the sailmaker.

By now the sea-ice was becoming badly eroded by the melt and was covered with innumerable pools of blue meltwater which progressively expanded, then drained through cracks and holes. With leads becoming wider and more numerous, sledging became quite hazardous; the last visitors to come by sledge from Ananatuk were Abbok and four companions who arrived on 5 July. The ice in the fiord broke up and drifted out between 15 July and 21 July.

As soon as the drifting floes permitted, the expedition boat was launched and on 22 July Dr Ambronn, Dr Abbes and two seamen set off on a cruise down the fiord to look for sea-birds' eggs on one of the islands near its mouth. However, a barrier of heavy pack-ice surrounded the island and they had to return empty-handed. On both the outward and return journeys they saw large numbers of beluga. A few days later Okkeituk managed to kill a beluga with two shots followed by a well-aimed harpoon. As a further sign of summer, mosquitoes appeared in hordes around the end of July and made life miserable for the scientists until they disappeared again around 20 August.

On the morning of 27 July the schooner *Lizzie P. Simmonds* was spotted off Shilmilik Bay and that evening Captain John Roach, the carpenter Scherden and four crew members: a German, a Spaniard, a Kanaka (Polynesian) and an Australian came ashore to visit. Also in the party were two Inuit and Captain Roach's Inuit wife. The schooner had left Kekerten two weeks before and the plan was to spend a further two weeks in Clearwater Fiord hunting beluga. As events transpired the

Ruins of the astronomical observatory, August 1979. The hollow blocks once formed the pillar which supported the telescope.

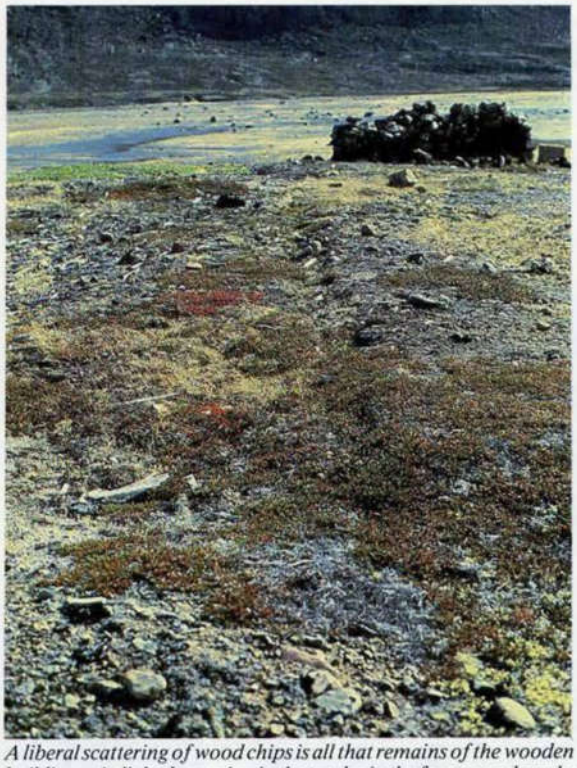
schooner's stay in the fiord was considerably longer than this, since persistent south-westerly winds jammed the various entrances to the fiord solidly with ice. Indeed Captain Roach found his supplies running low and on 7 August Scherden arrived at the German station to ask if they could spare any hardtack. The request was willingly granted.

In mid-August several Inuit families arrived and stayed briefly at the station before moving on west to the head of the fiord to fish for char and hunt caribou. Okkeituk decided to join them, but evidently conscious of an obligation to the Germans, left a deputy, an ancient Inuk called Metek. Dr Abbes comments on Metek's passion for tidying up the area around the station and for checking the numerous empty wine bottles which had accumulated over the winter, in case they contained any potable dregs.

From the middle of August onwards all members of the expedition began hoping that the ice jamming the entrance of the fiord would soon clear, allowing *Germania* to reach the station. Some serious consideration was even given to the possiblilites of a second wintering. By the end of the month there was still no change in ice conditions and on 5 September Dr Abbes and two of the men made a reconnaissance trip by boat to the mouth of the fiord. There they found the schooner *Lizzie P. Simmonds* once again, still incarcerated in the fiord by the ice.

Captain Roach explained that if the ice had not cleared within another week he planned to leave his ship at anchor and return to Kekerten by boat, taking advantage of the leads and open water areas in the lee of the small islands on the west coast of the sound. He said he would be willing to take some of the expedition members with him but his best advice for the remainder was to marry Inuit women and spend a peaceful winter housed in igloos. Since there was still no sign of any change in the ice Captain Roach took his schooner back up the fiord to Shilmilik Bay which he considered a safe anchorage at which to leave her.

Captain Roach's suggestions were now given serious consideration by the German party, in part at least. In



A liberal scattering of wood chips is all that remains of the wooden buildings. A slight depression in the tundra in the foreground marks the site of the main building.

referring to these discussions Dr Giese reveals an aspect to which he had only alluded vaguely hitherto: namely that there was very serious friction within the party. After commenting that he had asked Herr Mühleisen to accompany Captain Roach in the boats to Kekerten 'in order to look after our interests,' he continues: 'Of course it is inconvenient that yet another of the four remaining observers has to be sent away, but this mission could not be entrusted to any of the dissatisfied gentlemen.' Clearly therefore three of the scientists were no longer taking part in the observing programme by this stage. The previous hints that there were some personnel problems refer simply to dissatisfaction over food, and to the fact that the 'dissatisfied element' did not partake in regular exercise to the same degree as the others.

One's curiosity is aroused by these allusions but none of the published accounts provides any further information. Clearly, however, a second wintering might have run into serious difficulties quite apart from lack of food or fuel. Fortunately the situation did not arise.

On the afternoon of 7 September two boats were seen approaching the shore at Shilmilik Bay; one was quickly recognized as Captain Roach's, while the other was manned by three Inuit. Dr Giese was just moving forward to greet Captain Roach as he stepped ashore when one of the 'Inuit' said, in German, 'Greetings from the *Germania*.' This was, in fact, Dr Franz Boas, an ethnographer from Minden, who was to spend the next year among the Inuit of Cumberland Sound and who had just arrived at Kekerten from Germany on board *Germania*. The schooner had been blocked by ice off the mouth of Cumberland Sound from 15 July until 15 August but had finally reached Kekerten on 28 August. The head of the Sound was still solidly jammed with ice, however, and there had been no possibility of the schooner reaching Shilmilik Bay.

Thus, when on 3 September a group of the Inuit crewmen from *Lizzie P. Simmonds* arrived by boat at Kekerten, Dr Boas decided to return with them in order to let Dr Giese know that *Germania* had arrived, and to discuss the evacuation of the station. After a difficult, frustrating journey due to heavy ice, including one entire night spent lying off a sheer rock face fending off rapidly drifting floes, Boas and his two Inuit companions had spotted the *Lizzie P. Simmonds,* and Captain Roach had immediately escorted them to the German station.

An arrangement was reached with the whaling captain whereby he would transport the expedition to Kekerten for a fee of £55, as soon as the expedition's baggage could be loaded aboard the schooner. Next day (8 September) the operation of closing down the station and of ferrying things out to the schooner began, while Dr Boas started back for Kekerten by boat to inform Captain Mahlstede of the situation. The programme of observations was terminated on 9 September 1883, having lasted unbroken for 359 days.

There is still ample evidence of the sojourn of the German Polar Expedition at Shilmilik Bay. Of the buildings only the rough stone building erected for the astronomical observations is more or less intact. All the others, despite Dr Giese's evident hopes that they might survive for some time, have long since disappeared; an abundant scatter of wood chips across the tundra gives some hint of what has happened to them, and the outlines of the foundations of the main hut can still be traced.

Also surviving are the concrete blocks and pillars on which the various instruments once stood. The pillars have all been toppled from their bases but most have not been moved any distance.

Not all of the traces of the expedition are to be found at Shilmilik Bay, however. Even a cursory glance at the foundations of the old Royal Canadian Mounted Police office in Pangnirtung will reveal the ends of some distinctive octagonal concrete pillars supporting the building and protruding through the skirting around its base. Some equally distinctive square concrete blocks also support the corners of the building. Some of the pillars and blocks brought to Baffin Island a century ago on board *Germania* have been recycled.

Almost as enduring are the oral traditions concerning the German expedition among the Inuit of Cumberland Sound. James Kilabuk, the patriarch of Pangnirtung, is particularly well informed about the expedition. In his words the Germans came to study the weather, the stars and the compass. ◆

Don Ningewance

Lac Seul Artist

Photographs by Campbell & Chipman, Winnipeg

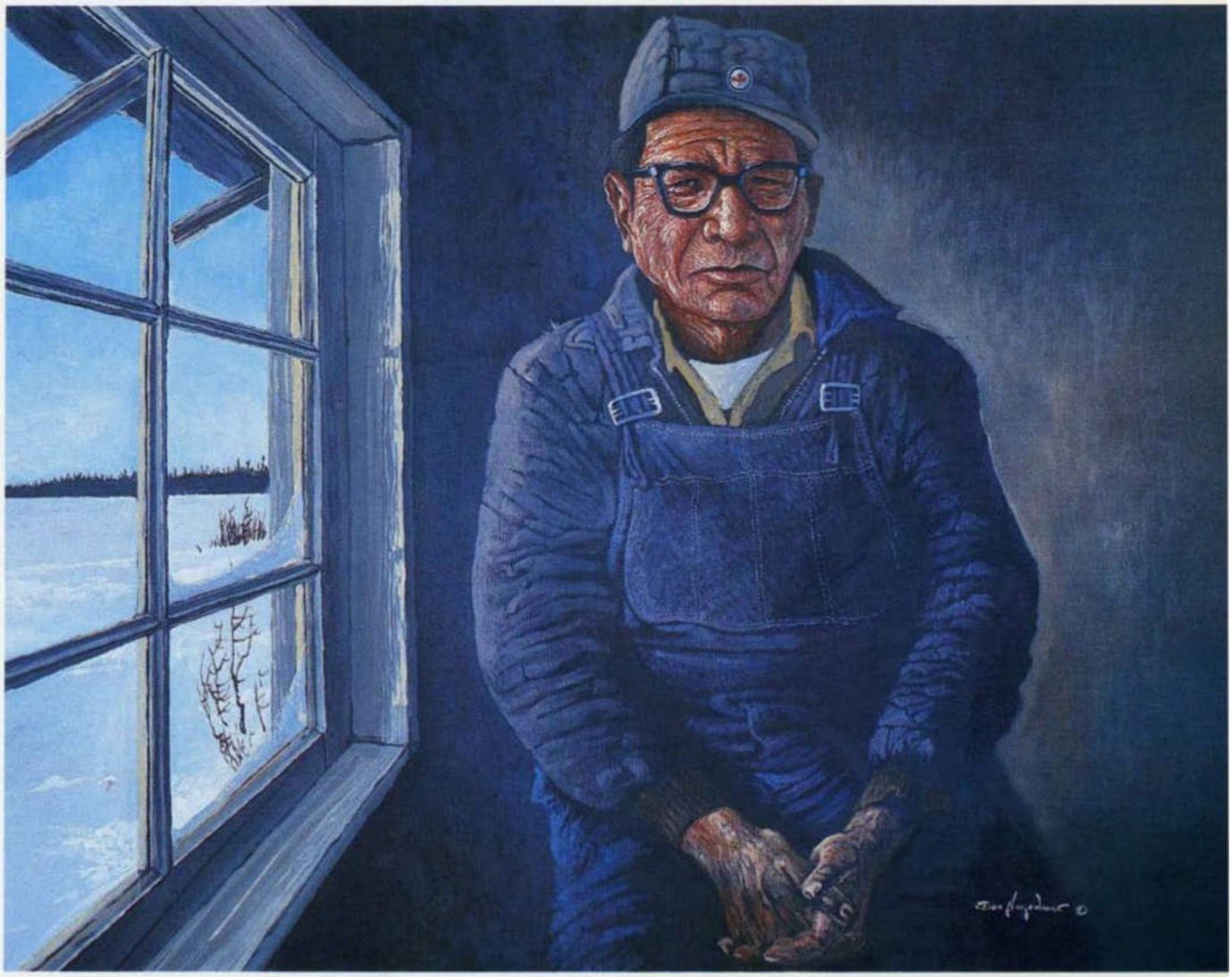
'Trapper's cabin'. Acrylic on canvas.

IN MAY THIS YEAR, paintings by Don Ningewance, a self-trained Ojibway artist from Lac Seul, Ontario, were exhibited for the first time in Winnipeg, at Balmoral Hall. Mr Ningewance began to paint at the age of ten. He used moosehide at first — 'very easy to paint on' — but when the paint on this surface cracked, he turned to canvas.

For some years Mr Ningewance served as administrator for the Lac Seul band. Now, at 35 and known for his art throughout north-west Ontario, he devotes full time to painting. His subjects are wilderness scenes and portraits; his studio is one room in his home on an island in Kejick Bay, about twenty miles north-west of Sioux Lookout.

Of the Winnipeg exhibition, art critic John Graham wrote in the *Winnipeg Free Press*: 'Perhaps the most remarkable paintings are among his portraits, full of spirit and character.' ◆

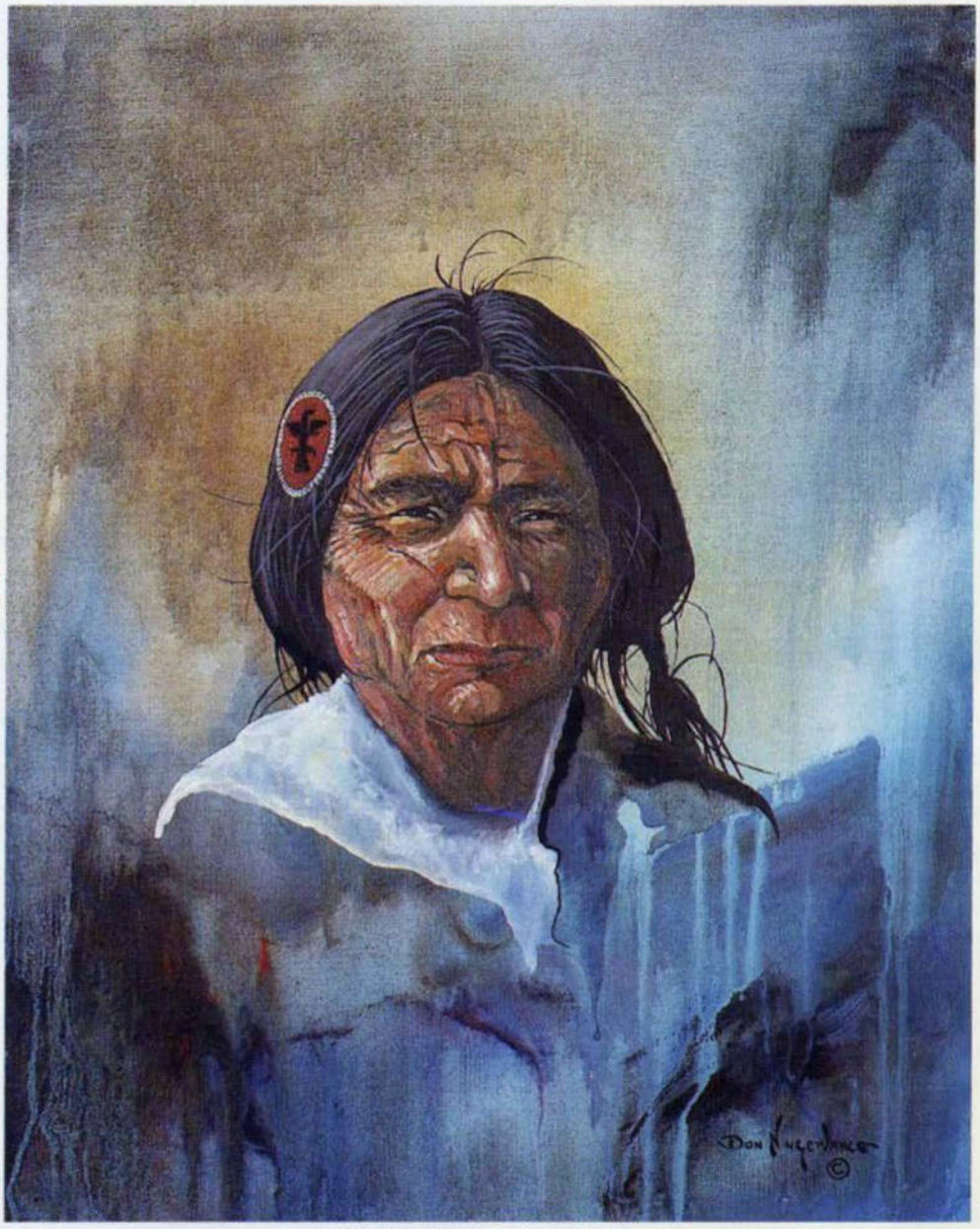
Paintings are reproduced with permission of the artist and through the courtesy of the Sidebottom Galleries in Winnipeg. Future exhibitions of the artist's work will be held at the Sidebottom Galleries in November; at Eau Claire Fine Arts Ltd., Calgary, in December; and at St Michael's University School in Victoria early in 1983.



Morris Thomas, the artist's father-in-law, whose family came originally from the coast of Hudson Bay. Acrylic on canvas. In H B C records the Thomas name dates back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, originating with two prominent Company men who had Cree wives and raised families at Bayside posts.

'Going home'. Acrylic on canvas. 'He captures the sense of warmth in the midst of winter, the long flat twilight illumination, the freshness of the wind, the mist rising from the streams and lakes...'

John Graham



'Much pride'. Acrylic on canvas.

THE S.S. 'KLONDIKE II'

By W.J. McBurney

Claude Hegg Collection, Parks Canada

OVER TWO THOUSAND MILES IN LENGTH, the Yukon River originates at Lake Lindeman, B.C., flows north into Alaska and empties into the Bering Sea. The Russians first travelled the river in search of furs and in the early 1840s the British established several Hudson's Bay Company posts along this ideal transportation route.

Stern-wheeler activity increased from 1880 and throughout the succeeding sixteen years. It was, however, the great Klondike gold discovery of 1896 which dramatically increased the need for mass transportation. Stern-wheeler fleets suddenly expanded under several

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Mr McBurney is Senior Curator, Interpretation Division, Parks Canada, Ottawa. He has completed many historic refurnishing projects for National Historic Sites, including the Robert Service cabin in Dawson City and Maison Laurier, birthplace of Sir Wilfrid at St Lin, Quebec.

Photographs are from the Parks Canada Collections. Those in colour are of the restored stern-wheeler on site at Whitehorse.

The S.S. 'Klondike II' (above), under full steam on the Yukon River where she served from 1937 to 1955.

The refurnished Steamer 'Klondike' was opened to visitors in the summer of 1981.

commercial and trading company names. The population boom in Dawson and the surrounding Klondike region established the stern-wheeler as the vital link between the Yukon's settlements and the outside world.

Up until the mid-1950s the stern-wheeler remained the mainstay of the Yukon River transportation system. In the span of almost one hundred years, over two hundred and fifty of these practical, yet beautiful, vessels plied the river during the open season. The seasonal aspect of the river ultimately caused the stern-wheeler's demise. Crews had to work furiously during the five-month navigation season in order to clear the stockpiled ore produced during the winter period. In 1947, the stern-wheelers could not handle the increased production from the Keno Hill Mine. The mining company pressed for an all-weather road and when it was completed in 1951, trucks transported the one major product that the boats had depended on in order to survive. Slowly, the need for transportation of freight by river became unnecessary. When further construction of all-weather roads connected other isolated areas, the era of riverboats ended.

Frank Coghlan Collection, Parks Canada

Cordwood being loaded aboard at a riverside wood camp. It was stowed both port and starboard to balance the boat in the water.

In an attempt to keep one last stern-wheeler in operation, the British Yukon Navigation Company, in 1952, extensively refurbished *Klondike II* as a cruise and cargo ship. The plan proved premature to capitalize on the Yukon's tourist industry. In August 1955, *Klondike II* steamed into Whitehorse on the end of her last Yukon run. She was winched out of the water to join her sister ships, which were beached beside the river on which they had served. Parks Canada has now restored the S.S. *Klondike II* to ensure that this romantic symbol of the Yukon's rich and colourful heritage is not relegated to the past.

The S.S. *Klondike II* was modelled after her predecessor, the S.S. *Klondike I* which sank in 1936 after the captain attempted to run a bend in the river. Following engine salvage, a new vessel was built during the winter months. Like the *Klondike I,* she was designed to carry a cargo of 300 tons, a feat that previous stern-wheelers had only accomplished by pushing a cargo-laden barge ahead of the prow. The latter method proved time-consuming and too costly to the British Yukon Navigation Company. The *Klondike II* would be able to make the same run in the same time with an equal amount of freight contained in her hold. In the spring of 1937 she was launched from the Whitehorse shipyards and began her career.

She then took her namesake's place on the river and followed the same Whitehorse-Dawson return schedule. A massive 210 feet in length, the ship had a crew of 25 men. They were responsible for manoeuvering her bulky hull around numerous hair-pin bends, through narrow channels of rapids and over the ever-changing sand bars of the river. While all of these feats were being accomplished with apparent ease, she graciously played hostess to as many as thirty passengers. They were offered hotel-like services, ranging from sleeping facilities to full dining conveniences.

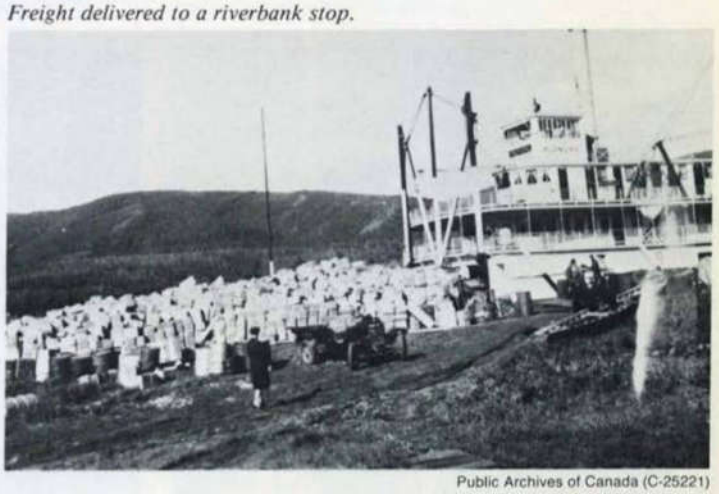
The 460-mile run downstream to Dawson usually took forty hours with one stop for wood. When the cargo of machinery, hardware, personal luggage, mail, household goods and general food supplies was unloaded, she would begin her return trip. Seventy miles upstream from Dawson, she would make a stop at the mouth of the Stewart River. Here, bags of silver-lead ore were hand-trucked aboard the ship by crew and longshoremen. Four days and six woodings later, against a current which averaged six knots, she would reach Whitehorse, heavily laden with her mineral wealth. The longshoremen would unload the ore, reload general freight and prepare the ship for a repeat performance.

The task of the interpretative curator of the *Klondike II* called for constant communication and collaboration with the research historian whose records and organized data were put to use. Through years of dedicated detective work, the curator located the thousands of items required to dress this 'Lady' in the manner to which she was accustomed.

It was this research through volumes of documented material that provided the information on river transportation (company policies, procedures and technicalities of the river-boat operation). Hundreds of period photographs were borrowed and copied for visual proof of specific, previously undocumented details. From an individual photo enlargement, small details became evident, and unanswered questions were resolved. Miles of interview tapes with ex-crew members told of personal accounts which illuminated the life-style of this era in the Yukon. The men who worked and loved the riverboats

The wheel house, outfitted with reproductions of the original carpets, airtight heater, and marine hardware.

Freight delivered to a riverbank stop.



Public Archives of Canada (C-25221)

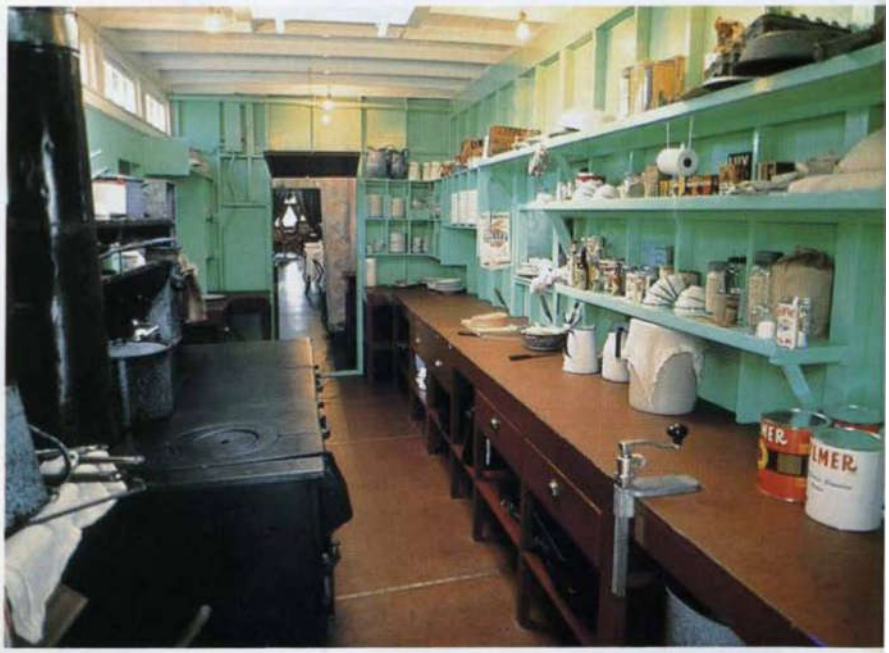
Office of the purser who was postman, bookkeeper, company agent and freight controller for waystops on the river journey.

Observation room on the forward saloon deck, the common meeting room where passengers enjoyed the spectacular Yukon scenery.,

Harold Nickolson Collection, Parks Canada

Pantry stores located on the saloon deck, port side.

The 'Klondike' galley crew who prepared delicacies that ranged from 'French pastries to fresh salmon bellies'.



The dining room, saloon deck, looking aft. The ship's officers and first-class passengers were served three full-course meals in this elegant setting of the 1930's.

(Above) The galley.

were invited to actively assist in the telling of an exciting and romantic part of their lives in Canada's history.

'How did passengers dress for travel in such rugged territory?'

'It was rugged, sure, but it was very civilized at the same time. Everything was available. Ladies wore fashionable hats, fox fur collars. It was quite common for someone to see friends off at dock with an armload of Dawson City flowers. There's lots of daylight up here in the summer, you know, and the plants and flowers are incredible in size.'

'What were some of the typical leisure activities on board?'

'Oh, people might just sit in the wicker chairs in the observation lounge, or out on the deck chairs and watch the scenery. And passengers always liked to play shuffleboard.'

'Did the deck-hands and the firemen have a hard job?'

'Well, you had to be strong, you know. The crew served eight hours on and eight off, while underway. Cordwood could be pretty heavy if it was still green and it was pretty hot work. The stoker had to pick up the four-foot log, hold it while he opened the fire door, pitch it in and close the door pretty quick. They were always at you — the pilot and wheelhouse crew — to keep the pressure up when you were under full steam. You didn't have time to lollygag around when you were on duty.'

'What did the cargo deck look like when it was full of freight?'

'Well, just a minute now. The boxes and cases would be six to eight feet high, the full length of the deck. You might have a shipment of lumber, sacks of flour and sugar, and lots of mail bags. Especially lots of mail bags when the new Eaton's catalogues came up. Shortly after that, there would be parcels ordered by everybody. A few weeks later, there would be lots of parcels being returned to the mail-order office again. People would order all sorts of crazy things. Not much need for a bicycle up here when you live on the river and don't have any streets or roads. Anyway, there would be cordwood piled here, both port and starboard, twenty cords at a time. You always had to balance the boat in the water, you know. There was this little metal marker that had to hang plumb. You get it off too much and the Captain'd be yelling at you, or Claude Hogg — he was the first mate. The paddle had to ride even in the water, you know, in order to push the boat right or else you'd just go around in circles. Here's a picture of the deck-hands loading cordwood at a wood-camp. Sometimes the wood truck would get out of hand going down the gangplank and you'd go over the side with a whole load of logs. That would slow you down, but they could load sixteen cords in forty minutes.'

'With all that hard work, the crew must have really built up an appetite. What was the cooking like on board?'

'Oh, the food was terrific! We'd have the same meals as the passengers and the menus were as good as you'd want. Exotic northern delicacies like moose steaks or steamed salmon bellies were offered from the galley, but the crew could also get something almost anytime they'd want.'

'What was the attitude amongst the crew? Were they friendly or were there personality conflicts?'

'Oh no, there was no trouble to speak of. Now and then there would be an argument of some kind, but it was usually all ironed out. The crews were usually a terrific bunch. It was hard times in those days and everyone was pretty lucky to have a job and these jobs were pretty exciting. We did a lot of kidding and had a lot of laughs. I remember one time when Johnny did a laundry and hung all his stuff up on a line to dry. Well, one of the deck-hands came along and took one of each of the socks off the line. When Johnny came back to take down his clothes, he thought that the wind had blown away the missing socks. So he says, "Well, hell, one sock of each colour is no damn good!" So he threw them all overboard.'

Hundreds of such details were revealed. In many instances memorabilia and souvenir items were donated for display purposes or used as prototypes for multiple reproduction. Linens, china, cutlery, ashtrays, chairs, towels, menus, mirrors, dinner gongs, uniform buttons, brochures, legal documents, employment offers and custom carpets were but some of the items tracked down. As more people became involved through lectures or interviews, there also became a public awareness that their seemingly trivial or unimportant item was perhaps a very important link in the total story.

On Canada Day, 1 July 1981, the restored Steamer Klondike was officially opened to the public. The former captain, William Bromley (now deceased) and several of the original crew members came back to the Yukon to take part in the ceremony. The reminiscences of the captain and crew had provided valuable first-hand documentation for the furnishings and as they viewed their old familiar surroundings, they agreed that nothing seemed to have changed since they were aboard many years before.

In cabin quarters, personal belongings have somehow miraculously reappeared. Both crew and passenger cabins appear to be occupied, but the tenants are nowhere in sight. Some of the doors were closed. Perhaps one should walk softly so as not to disturb a deck-hand during his off-duty sleep. The baker has just stepped out for a moment. His work counter is dusted with flour and pies are in the making for the next meal. What else is to be served in the simple, elegant dining room? A card placed on each table describes the menu for a dinner in 1937. Here, waiters have not quite finished the table-setting arrangements. Potted ferns are suspended from the ceiling and glass vases are filled with fresh northern flowers. Back on deck, shuffleboard paddles stand abandoned against a bulkhead, awaiting players for a game on the saloon deck court.

The once loved and cared-for paddle-wheeler lives again, with much of her original style and spirit. ◆

FORT VICTORIA LETTERS
1846-1851

Edited by Hartwell Bowsfield, with an introduction by Margaret A. Ormsby. Volume XXXII, Hudson's Bay Record Society, Winnipeg, 1979. 277 pp. Issued to members of the Society.

Application for membership ($10.00 a year; one volume published every second year) may be obtained from the Secretary, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 77 Main Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3C 2R1.

Reviewed by H. Keith Ralston

One bonus from a long-established series like that of the Hudson's Bay Record Society is the build-up during decades of publication of a chain of documents covering either a span of years or a geographical area or both. From this viewpoint, the Record Society volumes covering the Hudson's Bay Company's operations on the Pacific Coast of North America in the first half of the nineteenth century, form the most complete series yet brought out by the Society. The three volumes of *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters* (HBRS IV, VI, VII) are complemented by the volumes covering George Simpson's visits to the coast of 1828 (HBRS X) and 1841 (HBRS XXIX). Taken together with *Fur Trade and Empire,* Frederick Merk's edition of the 1824-25 Simpson journal of that tour of inspection, the three volumes of *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals* (HBRS XIII, XXIII, XXVIII) and supplemented by *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-1831* (HBRS III), they give a continuous picture of the trade west of the Rocky Mountains during the years 1824-1846. To this body of printed materials has now been added the *Fort Victoria Letters 1846-1851* which tell another and very crucial installment of the story.

The letters in this volume are selected from London correspondence inward from Fort Victoria (the A.11 series in the classification used by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives). They begin with one dated 7 December 1846, signed by Chief Factors James Douglas and John Work, reporting that they await confirmation of the terms of 'this monstrous treaty' settling the Oregon boundary dispute, and end with a report on the Queen Charlotte Islands gold excitement. In between, the letters detail the efforts at adjustment by the Company to the changed conditions on the Pacific Coast in a period that covers both the United States annexation of California and the gold rush of 1849. The correspondence changes in tone from the deep gloom in 1846 at the prospect of being 'driven from all our possessions in the Columbia River' to an acceptance of the challenge of making the best of those territories remaining to the Company under the licence to trade and to an energetic effort to replace the threatened establishments in Oregon with a transformed Vancouver Island.

It is too bad that this volume could not have been entitled *Douglas's Fort Victoria Letters* to parallel *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters,* as it does in effect continue the earlier series. Technically, of course, the title that was adopted is correct, since Douglas was but a member, although the senior member, of a Board of Management for the Columbia District, and early letters are signed by both Douglas and Work. But technicalities aside, these are indeed the 'Douglas letters' in which we see James Douglas at the height of his powers. The firm, clear handwriting fills the correspondence to London just as the tall, portly figure dominates Company affairs on the Pacific Coast.

Historians have over the years presented us with several different personae for James Douglas, ranging from the doughty opponent of responsible government to the benign protector of the indigenous peoples. There has been along the way, at least in British Columbia, a group of 'Douglas idolators' who have made characteristically extravagant claims of pre-eminence for Douglas. For both members and non-members of this cult, the reading of the *Fort Victoria Letters* should be an illuminating experience, even if no conversions result. Here is Douglas at the business he knew best, the one to which he devoted most of his working life. The *Letters* show him as fair, judicious, occasionally hard-hearted, but always in control. One has only to peruse the Fort Victoria

A. Y. JACKSON
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correspondence subsequent to 1859 to get an impression of how much more information and evaluation Douglas gave his superiors in London than did his successors. The *Letters,* therefore, can serve as a yardstick against which to measure the success of Douglas in his career in government and to assess the claims on his behalf in that field.

General editor Hartwell Bowsfield and Professor Margaret Ormsby, author of the introduction to this volume, have combined to produce a most useful supporting apparatus for the guidance and information of the reader. Footnotes (and they are *foot*-notes, at the bottom of the relevant pages) are brief and complement the introduction. Ormsby's introduction is clear, crisp and well-organized. It reviews the problems facing the H B C on the Pacific Coast after the Oregon Treaty and comments on the directions in which solutions were sought. Inevitably it focuses on Vancouver Island, the scene of much Company effort, so that what we get is a short history of the Island in the period. Perhaps this focus could have been further emphasized with a more detailed analysis of the process by which the Hudson's Bay Company received the Royal Grant of 1849. Dr Ormsby underlines, however, the sincerity of the Company's stated intention of colonizing the Island, and shows how this intention was frustrated by circumstances beyond the Company's control.

Readers of this volume will look forward to a continuation which will bring the Fort Victoria correspondence at least to 1858 and the Fraser River gold rush, or to the completion in 1859 of the severance by Douglas of his connection with the Company. One would, therefore, in anticipation of such a continuation, have wished that the text and the introduction had covered the same span of years, as has been the practice in previous multi-volume publications like *McLoughlin's Letters* and the *Snake Country Journals.* As it is, the introduction goes beyond 1851 to deal, for instance, with the coal operations at Nanaimo which were not begun until 1852.

A final word on the appearance of the volume — the Canadian printer, in the first of the HBRS publications printed in North America, has kept up the high standards of his Scottish predecessor. The overall result reflects credit on both the H B C Archives and the Record Society.

H. Keith Ralston teaches the history of British Columbia and the Canadian West at the University of British Columbia.

LONG LANCE
The True Story of an Imposter

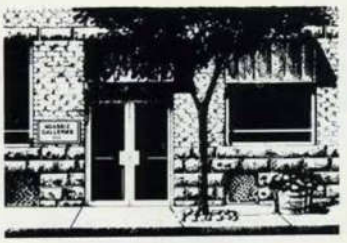
By Donald B. Smith. Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1982. 304 pp., illus. $16.95.

Reviewed by John C. Ewers

A reading of this fascinating book carries me back to a summer some thirty-one years ago when I was researching traditional Indian arts and crafts on the Blood Reserve in southern Alberta. My interpreter was Percy Creighton (also known by the Indian name of Little Dog), a minor chief of the Blood tribe. Percy had been recommended to me by Canon Samuel Middleton, who for more than 40 years had charge of St Pauls (Anglican) Indian Residential School on the Reserve. I had known Canon Middleton for a decade as a dedicated friend of the Blood Indians, who possessed a knowledge of their history and culture and spoke their language well.

During those weeks that I worked on the reservation to the south I commuted by car from a small room in the old red brick hotel on the western edge of the little town of Fort Macleod, where Middleton was then living in retirement. We saw each other often. One evening I dined at the Middletons. After the meal we adjourned to the parlour where he showed me a remarkable collection of photographs, letters and other documents relating to a deceased friend of his who had gained considerable fame in both Canada and the United States as the author of a widely read reputed autobiography of a Blood Indian chief titled *Long Lance,* and published in New York City in 1928.

AGASSIZ GALLERIES



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Middleton first met Long Lance in the summer of 1921 as a reporter for the *Calgary Herald*. He had come to the Blood Reserve to gather material for some articles about these Indians who occupied the largest Indian reservation in Canada and who were regarded as the most progressive tribe in the entire Dominion. Middleton was impressed by this tall, dark and handsome young man and his obvious charm. He learned that Long Lance was an Indian from south of the border, who had attended the famed Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, where he had excelled as an athlete. He had actually received a presidential appointment to West Point but rather than accept it he volunteered for service in the Canadian Army in World War I. At war's end he chose to stay in Canada as a journalist in the prairie provinces.

Canon Middleton recognized in his new Indian friend an outstanding example for his young Indian students of an Indian who had demonstrated his ability to compete successfully with non-Indians in more than one field — as an athlete, a war hero and a journalist. So Middleton encouraged Long Lance to learn as much as he could about Blood Indian history and culture through interviews with older members of the tribe who had actively participated in intertribal wars, as well as to make observations of contemporary life. Middleton arranged for a ceremony in Long Lance's honour at his school in which Long Lance was given the Blood Indian name of Buffalo Child.

No one knew better than did Canon Middleton that Buffalo Child Long Lance was not a Blood Indian by birth or that his Blood name was but an honorary one. Probably no one was more shocked than the Canon when he began to see articles by Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance in leading magazines describing his exploits in intertribal warfare and events in tribal history (which took place long before he was born) as if he had been a participant. Even so, the good Canon could not bring himself to blame for his

Long Lance. From the book by Donald B. Smith.

repeated literary deceptions this man he had presented to his students as a sterling example — even after Long Lance published his mainly fictitious autobiography. Rather the two remained close friends until the self-proclaimed chief was exposed by others and, unable to cope with his fall from grace in the eyes of his prominent white friends, took his own life in March 1932. Middleton's collection comprised numerous letters from Long Lance during the later years of his life detailing his successes as an author, lecturer, and spokesman for Indians, and how he was lionized by wealthy matrons in New York and California and by the press. Long Lance bragged of his close associations with such sporting heroes as Jim Thorpe and Jack Dempsey, with members of the prestigious Explorers Club in New York, with scholars at the American Museum of Natural History in that city, with the noted humorist Irvin S. Cobb, and with movie stars such as Douglas Fairbanks and Charlie Chaplin. He sent photos of himself dressed in beaded buckskins and feather bonnet on the lecture platform, in top hat and tails as the toast of New York society, and in little more than a breech-clout as the hero of one of the last of the silent movies, *The Silent Enemy*.

Samuel Middleton realized that the material in his Long Lance collection possessed a unique potential for a true story that was far stranger than fiction. But he knew he was too much a part of that story to write it. It remained for Donald B. Smith, associate professor of Canadian History at the University of Calgary, to find this material a quarter century later in the Middleton Collection preserved in the Glenbow-Alberta Institute of that city. With the energy, ingenuity, and thoroughness of a true investigative reporter Smith devoted five years to developing a well-rounded account of Long Lance's rich and intriguing life. He was especially careful to research those earlier years before Long Lance met Middleton on the Canadian Plains. Through on-the-spot investigation he determined that Long Lance was born Sylvester Long to parents of mixed racial background in the racially conscious South in 1890, and grew up in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, at a time when it was customary to lump Indians and Negroes together as 'coloured'. This sophisticated man's formal education actually began in the Depot Street School for Negroes.

In precisely documented detail the author traces Sylvester's successful struggle to free himself from the yoke of racial prejudice of the Old South, first by running away to join a travelling Wild West Show where he learned a few words of Cherokee from a fellow worker before he gained an appointment to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania as a Cherokee Indian with the new name of Long Lance. There can be little doubt that the young man combined ambition with mental and physical abilities which enabled him to compile a unique record of genuine accomplishments, even as he gained wider and wider acclaim by building one falsehood upon another — until his past finally caught up with him.

Perhaps it was only poetic justice that the man who first blew the whistle on Long Lance's pretentious claim to Blood chieftaincy was an honest-to-goodness chief of that tribe — none

other than my interpreter of the 1940s and early '50s, Percy Creighton (Chief Little Dog). One small defect in this otherwise extremely well-researched book may be the author's too brief consideration of Percy's action in exposing the imposter, which led to his loss of credibility, and to his tragic death. What were the *real* chief's motives in exposing the pretender? As a member of the Blood tribe was Percy simply trying to set the record straight? Or was he jealous of the apparent ease with which this fluent journalist gained international acclaim as *the* spokesman for that tribe? Having known Percy Creighton as a man who was tremendously proud of his services as a chief *and* his role as interpreter for the Blood Indians I should think it very likely he was motivated by both tribal and personal considerations.

Dr Ewers, Ethnologist Emeritus, Smithsonian Institution, is author of a number of books on the Indian people and the artists who portrayed them in the Old West.

LETTERS FROM
A LADY RANCHER

By Monica Hopkins, with an introduction by Sheilagh S. Jameson. Glenbow Museum, Calgary, 1981. 172 pp. $12.95.

Reviewed by James H. Gray

Monica Hopkins was the daughter of an English clergyman who married an Irish immigrant rancher, and this is the story of two years of their life on a horse ranch in the foothills 30 miles south-west of Calgary. The period is from 1909 to 1911 and the story is told in a series of letters to a woman friend in Australia, but it is a most unusual series of letters indeed.

The importance of the letters, which undoubtedly led Glenbow to publish them, lies in the emphasis placed on the woman's perspective on pioneer homesteading. It is a perspective sadly underdone in the chronicling of the history of settlement. In these letters there is no mention of economics, agronomy, climate, physical discomfort or distress. Instead there is emphasis on womanly concerns, with neighbouring, the beautifying of the home, the preparation of special meals, writing of letters, going shopping, and all within the rugged pioneering milieu.

The twenty-year-old Mrs Hopkins came to the western frontier as utterly unprepared for that life as any English gentlewoman who was ever pitchforked into an alien environment. She had never so much as cooked a meal or washed a tub of clothing, though she seemed to have acquired the rudiments of fancy stitching. But she brought to her new home the kind of irrepressible personality that was essential to survival and enjoyment of pioneer living.

'So many unexpected things turn up you might as well meet them with a smile. ...If you treat life as a joke and not take it too seriously then you'll be happy here. If you don't then Heaven help you, for no one else can.'

The unexpected included meeting a charging bull moose on the trail, opening the door to a family of Indians demanding tobacco and food, coping with the aberrations of a retarded hired man, and most of all coping with strangers turning up at the ranch enroute elsewhere, to be fed and housed for the night.

But Mrs Hopkins learned to cope: to cook, to wash, to garden, and to care for cats, dogs and chickens and to ride and ford streams of icy water that soaked her to the waist. As she wrote:

'To return to the analysis of my first year in this particular corner of Canada—I have loved every minute of it. So many interesting things have happened. I have met some very nice people, all sorts and conditions, and found them all very kind and often very helpful in advising a rather bewildered English woman in the ways of her adopted country. By now I realize that this is essentially a man's country and that a woman has practically to sink her own identity and take on her husband's interests. ...It would be impossible for any woman to fill up her days doing housework, for in 99 per cent of the houses here the necessary work can be done in a few hours daily. In many it can be done in much less than that, so that she would have many hours on her hands that she would find hard to fill. Books and sewing help out but more than that is needed ... so that interest in her husband's pursuits is absolutely necessary.'

This particular volume stands out because it is more than a collection of 'letters'. They appear to be letters that were retrieved years later from the addressee and, after the Hopkinses retired, were rewritten and expanded with the sort of detail that seldom is found in ordinary letters. This reliving of the pioneer years appears to have taken place in the 1940s. The manuscript thus prepared eventually found its way to the Glenbow Museum and the decision to publish this book was taken last year. It is a most useful and, incidentally, highly readable addition to the Alberta ranching record, even though it contains hardly a line on the operation of the ranch itself.

Author James H. Gray is well known for his books on the pioneer era of Western Canada.

Publishers' Addresses

For the convenience of readers in remote areas, the addresses of publishers whose books are reviewed in this issue are listed below:

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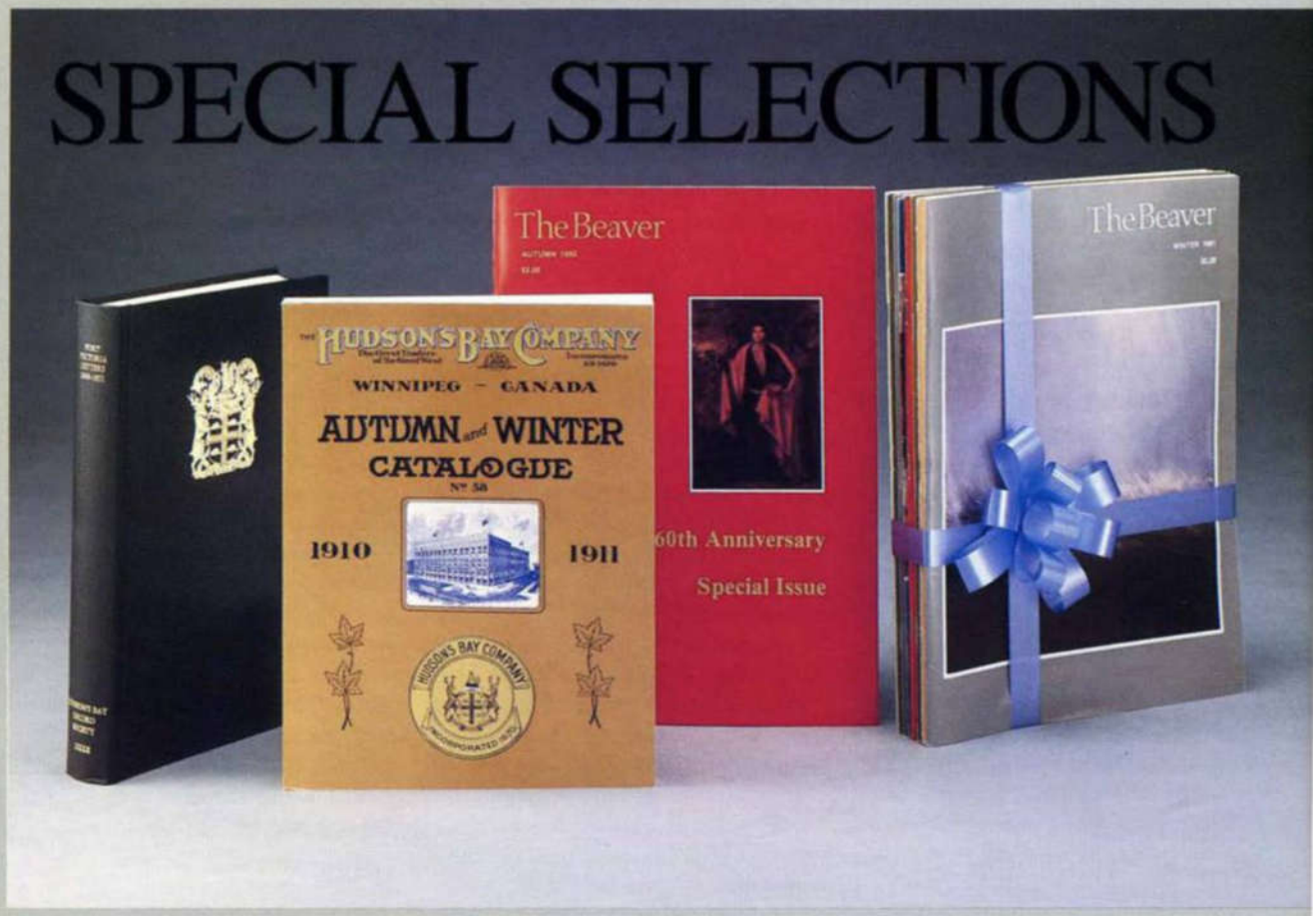

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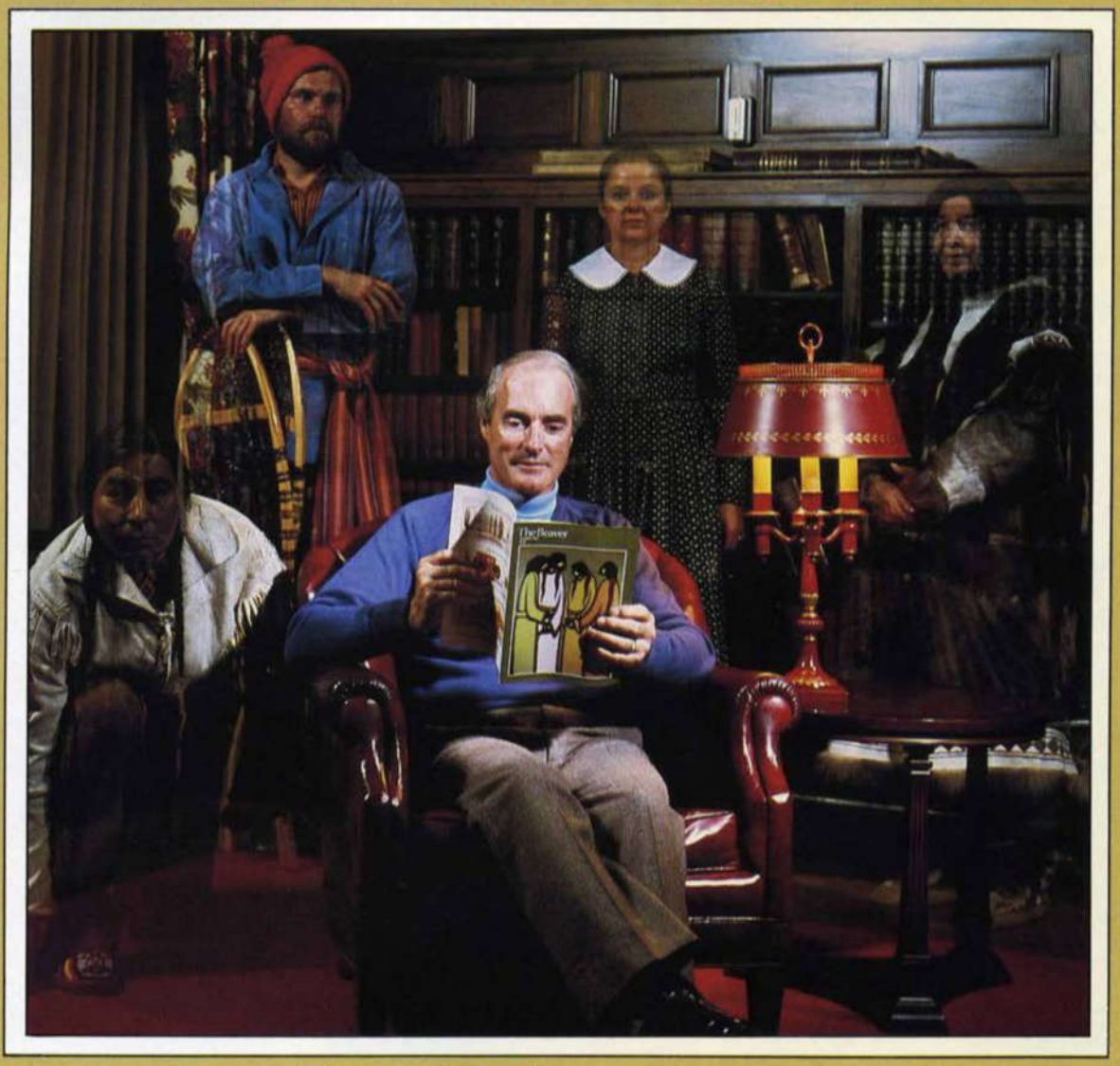

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